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A. S. PICKLAY

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Dedicated

to

Lt-Col. Sir RICHARD TEMPLE, Bart., D.S.O.,

to whose suggestion, and initiative

the compilation of this work

was principally due.

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INTRODUCTION

Though entitled the "History of the Ismailis," this book hardly deals with the fringe of a subject which is as vast as it is interesting and is closely connected with the histories of Arabia, Persia, Syria, Iraq, Egypt and India not to talk of the far-eastern territories of Central Asia and China. It is, more or less, a treatise on some of the great land-marks in Ismaili history and attempts to give, in outline, without entering into scholastic details, a brief resume of the progress and work of the Ismaili sect from the time of the first Imam Ali, and, principally, from the time of Ismail, the sixth Imam from whom the sect derives its name.

The writing of the book, imperfect as it is, has been no easy task and the author had to wade through a mass of literature which was not only confusing but which presented different versions of some of the most important and key episodes in history. It is common knowledge that the Ismailis have been a persecuted sect through centuries, and to escape, therefore, the harassment of the orthodox Muslims, they not only sought refuge behind *Taqia** but were extremely guarded in everything that was connected with their doctrine and even history. The genuine Ismaili works which formed part of the huge libraries of the Fatimid rulers of Africa, Egypt, and later, Almut were destroyed by the Tartars and other enemies of the sect. Ata Malek Juwaini, who was secretary to Halaku, made use of some of the Ismaili books in writing the *Tarikhe-Jehan-*

* Secrecy or concealment of real faith

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gushayi but not being a friend of the Ismailis, he could not be expected to have any interest in their preservation.

There are several Europeans who have written books on Ismailism but their*

"ideas about Ismailism are all derived from writings of the enemics ot the Sect, chiefly of orthodox Muhammadan historians and theologians. These, quite naturally, used to tell their readers only all that they could find derogatory and objectionable about the hated heretics. Thus, it became almost a generally accepted point of view that Ismailism was something like a "swindle on a grand scale," a malicious intrigue for the subversion of the Baghdad Caliphate and of Islamism in general. These ideas, first introduced by Hammer-Purgstall, were later on especially cultivated by the well-known Dutch scholars, Dozy and de Gocje. We scarcely need pay attention to them now, when genuine Ismailite works are become known. No religion, especially one so enduring and strong-spirited as Ismailism, can be started by rascality. We need not, in the least suspect the sincerity and remarkable devotion either of the founders, or of the followers of a sect which succeeded in withstanding a thousand years of persecution."

There are in Ismaili history four different periods the facts concerning which have been either confused or misrepresented by orthodox historians; namely, the succession of Ismail to the *Imamat* after Jafar Sadiq, the geneological claim of Mahdi, the first Fatimid Caliph in Africa, the birth of Nizaris and the years immediately following the fall of Almut.

The facts about the succession of Ismail have not only been borne out by even orthodox historians and another recent Arab publication, *al-Falakud-dawwar*,

* Prof. W. Ivanow in "An Ismailitic Work by Nasiruddin Tusi" published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July 1931.

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written by Shaikh Abdullah bin al-Murtaza adds incontrovertible support to it. Maqrizi, a leading Egptian authority on Fatimid history says that the Alid descent of the Fatimids was never attacked by the acknowledged Alids who then existed in considerable number. He also defends the Fatimid claims by saying that the Alids were always suspected by the Abbasid Khalifs, and so "they had no resort but to conceal themselves and were scarcely known, so that Muhammad b. Ismail, the Imam ancestor of Ubayd Allah, was called the 'concealed' " (Maq. i., 349). Another authority is Abul Hasan Muhammad Masawi, commonly known as Radi, who was himself a descendant of Ali through Husein and was official keeper of the records of Alid geneology. As Abul Fida notes (*Annales Moslemici, ii.* 309) Radi, in one of his poems (cf. *Diwan* of Radi, Beirut, p. 972) fully admits the legitimate descent of the Fatimids of Egypt from Ali. Even Ibn Khallikan, strongly anti-Fatimid, is compelled to discount the story he himself relates of how al-Moizz on entering Cairo was challenged by the jurist, Abu Muhammad Ibn Tabataba and showed his sword as pedigree and gold coins as the proof. For Ibn Khallikan admits that the jurist Abu Muhammad had been many years in his grave when al-Moizz entered Cairo (Ibn Khall. iii 366). It is also well-known how after the Fatimid claims came before the world, the Abbasids brought forward many calumnies.

A number of western commentators on Ismaili literature have confused the Fatimid geneology after Ismail and have introduced a new character, that of Abdulla b. Maymun *al-Qaddah* (the oculist) as the

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founder of the Ismaili as well as the Qarmati sect. But in the works of Maqrizi, Ibn Khaldun and Ibn Khallikan, the name of Abdulla does not appear anywhere between Ismail and Ubayad Allah, the Mahadi. According to Abul Fida, Maymun is made the son of the seventh Imam which O'Leary states, on good authority, is impossible. There is an explanation, however, of Abdulla bin Maymun's name being mixed up with the Imams of the Ismailis. For, it is a well-known fact that in those far-off days when the Ismaili Imams had to leave in concealment to escape persecution, the names of missionaries and religious propagandists often got confused with those of the Imams and resulted in misunderstandings of a serious nature. And Imam Vafi Ahmed was known as Abdulla b. Muhammad which may have lent itself easily to its being confused as Abdulla b. Maymun.

About the origin of Karmatis themselves, there is a good deal of confusion and mystery. One account given by De Sacy is that of Nuwayri which says that one of Ahmad's missionaries, Hasayn Ahwazi, was sent to Sawad, a district of Kufa, to work there. As he was travelling, he met a man named Hamdan b. Ashat al-Qarmati who was leading an ox with forage on its back. Husayn asked him about a place named Dawr and Hamdan told him it was his home. Then in the course of the conversation, Husayn talked about the teachings of his faith and Hamdan was so well imprssed that he became a convert to them. Husayn lived in the house of Hamdan for sometime and then became a guardian of the date garden of a wealthy local man. Before his death, Husayn appointed Hamdan as *dai* in his place.

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and the latter became not the founder of a religion but a missionary.

Another version of this is that a devout and religious-minded Persian of Khujistan established himself in the *Nahrayn* or district between the rivers near Kufa, and soon drew attention of the people by his asceticism and piety. When he was ill, a certain villager known as *Qaramita,* (a word in the Nabataean language which means a man with red eyes) took him to his house and looked after him. The *Qaramita* was called by the name of Hamdan and became one of the missionaries of the pious man. "It is clear," says O'Leary, "that Hamdan surnamed the *Qarmati* was the convert chosen to act as head of the branch founded near Kufa. Hamdan it seems kept up constant correspondence with the leaders of the sect at Salamiya. After the death of Imam Vafi Ahmed, Hamdan sent a trusty follower, Abdan, to Salamiya to find out how matters stood. "Abdan arrived there, learned about the death of Ahmed and the succession of his son Husayn, and had an interview with the latter. In that interview, he asked who was the Imam to whom they owed obedience, and Husayn replied by the counter question, "who then is the Imam?" Abdan replied, "It is Muhammad, the son of Ismail the son of Jafar, the master of the world, to whose obedience your father called men and whose *hujja* he was." Husayn said: "Muhammad the son of Ismail has no rights in all this; there has never been any other Imam than my father who was descended from Maymun b. Daysan and today I take his place." Abdan then returned to the *Qarmati* and told all the *duat* what he had discovered. As a result, the preaching

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came to an end in the districts about Kufa. But the *Qarmatians* or *Karmatis* as a sect distinct from Ismailis continued and were a source of worry not only to the Abbasids but also the Fatimid Caliphs.

The Dutch scholars, de Goeje and Dozy, have attempted to show that the Ismailis were combined by Abdulla bin Maymun in one secret society "wherein there should be several grades of initiation, the free-thinkers, who saw in religion only a curb for the common people, and the bigots of all sects; to make use of the believers to bring about a reign of the unbelievers and the conquerors to overthrow the empire which themselves had founded;" The description by de Goeje of the alleged following of Abdulla bin Maymun has been applied also to the followers of Hasan bin Subbah and Sinan centuries later with little or no variation and has, therefore, to be taken as more or less of a legendary nature.

E. G. Browne, the author of *Literary History of Persia,* referring to the anti-Ismaili stories, says that this "luminous description of the *Ismaili* propaganda hardly does justice to those at any rate by whose efforts the doctrines were taught amidst a thousand dangers and difficulties; to that host of missionaries whose sincerity and self-abnegation at best are wholly admirable." He also quotes from *Histoire et Religion des Nosaires* of Rene Dussaud, "one of the very few Europeans who have appreciated the good points of this remarkable sect, and who is of opinion that the judgments pronounced by Western scholars are marked by an excessive severity. It is certainly

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wrong to confound, as do the Musulman doctors, all these sects in one common reprobation."

Rene Dussaud also remarks with justice that even that branch of the Ismailis from whom was derived the word "Assassin," and to whom it was originally applied, were by no means the first community to make use of this weapon of a persecuted minority against their oppressors, and that "the 'old man of the mountain'* himself was not so black as it is the custom to paint him."

It is worthy of note that Abdulla bin Maymun who was considered by western writers to have played such an important part in the growth of Ismailism has not been even mentioned in the books of the western branch of Ismailis while there are enough references of him in the books of the Nizaris. If, as is supposed, Abdulla b. Maymun had any hand in the growth of Ismailism, that fact could not have escaped the Ismaili writers of the Musteallian sect; but its absence is rather significant and may be explained in either of the two ways; that Abdulla b. Maymun was not at all important from the Ismaili point of view though his teachings were capable of being interpreted to create an illusory impression of Ismailism or that the original books of the Ismailis were "doctored" in course of time by Qarmatians and other enemies of the sect to suit their purpose.

The arguments of the detractors of Ismailis that they were a sect of unscrupulous adventurers are effectively countered by the life and work of eminent philo-

* The appelation applied to Hasan bin Sabbah

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sophers and men of letters like Nasir-i-Khushru and Nasiruddin Tusi, who had embraced Ismailism at a period when even the profession of the faith amounted to signing one's death warrant, and had helped in its propagation at great personal risk which could not have been possible through either wordly attractions or other unworthy motives. The example of Hasan bin Sabbah, a Shi'ite of the "twelver sect" who in his own community might have risen to greatness but who as an Ismaili spurned all the efforts of the enemies of the Imam to bribe him, and to the end of his life led a selfless existence discarding personal ambitions and domestic comforts, proves that there was some attraction in the religion which made people deny themselves wordly comforts and ambitions in favour of other ideals.

The "Nizari" controversy has been laid to rest by the advocates of the Musteallian branch and has been dealt at length in this book under the heading of "Nizaris." The proofs adduced and arguments advanced in favour of the continuance of the Nizari line removes the fourth controversy about the uninterrupted succession of Nizari Imams at Almut and later in Persia. The fall of Almut resulted in the massacre of the Ismails in their thousands but Shumsuddin Mahomed, the heir of Imam Ruknuddin Khur Shah, escaped and lived in Persia in comparative seclusion. In all historical works after this, says Prof. Ivanow, no indication is found relating to the continuation of the family of the Imams and even Ismailis in general are referred to only during the earliest subsequent period. According to this Russian scholar who is a recognised

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authority on Ismailism and oriental literature, the alleged annihilation of the family of the Imams which was regarded in Orientalistic circles as almost an established fact, was due mainly to the disappearance of the Ismaili sect from history's pages for about six hundred years after the fall of Almut. The reasons for this were many. In the words of Prof. Ivanow:

> "the precarious existence of the community did not produce the people of superior education and literary tastes who could take up the subject. Ismailis were living in isolated groups, or "nests," which had little to do one with the other. Their Imams were usually living in the guise of Sufic Shaykhs, of whom at that time there was a large number in all Islamic countries. Many of them, especially under the Safavids, held high posts, intermarried with the royal house, etc. References to them are really found in the general literature, but the difficulty is that they were known in their public life under quite different names, which the sectarian tradition did not preserve, and now it is not easy to identify them."

In regard to this difficulty in identification, Prof. Ivanow quotes the well-known instance of Imam Hasan Ali Shah who was known to the general public in Persia simply as the Aga Khan while on official occasions he was also called Muhammad Hasayni.

In the last two decades or so, genuine Ismaili works containing numerous references to the Imams who flourished after the fall of Almut, have become accessible. And a study of these leaves no doubt in one's mind that the Imams whose names have been preserved by oral tradition really existed.

In dealing with the progress of Ismailism, one can not but refer to the great work on the subject known as *Ikhwanus-Safa* which consists of fifty one volumes

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and which was written by Imam Vafi Ahmed, the grandson of Imam Ismail. Ikhwanus Safa may be considered to be a comprehensive compendium on philosophy and religions, treating of every phase and aspect of life. This encyclopaedic work, like many others, is not available to the general reader for the very simple reason that Ismailism to this day, despite the efforts of its missionaries, remains a faith for the seekers.

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CHAPTER I.

Origin and Growth of Ismailism

The Ismailis, of whom there are millions spread all over the world, derive their name from Imam Ismail, the great-great grandson of Husein, the son of Ali who was the son-in-law of prophet Mahomed.

After the death of the prophet, Arabia became a hot-bed of party factions and conspiracies. Ali died at the hands of an assassin. Imam Husein, his son, was trapped on the desert of Kerbala and died a martyr's death kindling into flame the dying embers of Islamic spirit in the people.

Imam Husein was succeeded to the spiritual heritage by his son, Zainul-Abedin, from whom, in course of time, the *Imamat* or spiritual leadership, descended to Jafar Sadiq.

Jafar Sadiq's successor was Ismail, the eldest son, whom his father had secretly sent away from Arabia in his life-time so that his enemies who were attempting to wipe out the line of *Imamat* may not succeed in their object. According to some historians, the departure was not only kept secret but was covered with a report that Ismail had died, and a mock funeral was actually staged.

Jafar Sadiq saved his son but was himself killed, and Musa Kazim, a younger brother of Ismail,

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claimed himself to be the Imam. As the *Imamat* could only belong to the one chosen son, by right of *nass** or divine ordination, a large number of Jafar Sadiq's followers swore allegiance to Ismail, and they, their descendants and the adherents of his successors thereafter became known as Ismailis.

The whole crux of Ismail's claim to *Imamat* lay in his being alive at the time of his father's death; and this has been proved from various references by his contemporaries and historians of a later period, from which it can be discovered that Ismail died twenty years after his father.†

It is said of Ismail that after leaving Medina in secrecy, he was next seen in Basra where he suddenly came into prominence by his extraordinary powers in curing the sick and the ailing. Fearing an exposure, he left Basra, travelled further to Syria and settled down there, but not in complete security. For, as soon as Khalifa Mansur, who was then ruling over Arabia, came to know of Ismail's existence, he wrote to the Governor of Damascus to send Ismail in custody to his court. But the Governor had not only a high regard for Imam Ismail but had become a follower of his. In order, therefore, to save his spiritual master, he advised the Imam to leave Syria for a few days. When the Imam was safely away, he made an ostensible search for him and wrote to the Khalifa saying that the whereabouts of Ismail could not be found.

* 'Tarikhe Jahangushai' by Khwaja Ataullah Malek Juwaini.
'Tarikhe Firishta' by Mahomed Kasim Firista.

† Umdat-ul-Talib.

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After this, for over seven decades, the *dais* or missionaries of Ismaili Imams spread the faith all over Syria and other neighbouring countries, till in the time of Imam Razi Abdulla, Yemen became the centre of Ismaili Mission, under the guidance of Abul Kasam Hasan b. Farash b. Hawshab known generally as Ibn Hawshab.

Ibn Hawshab was a "Twelver" but came in contact with the Ismaili Imam under circumstances which were witnessed by a wealthy Shi'ite of Yemen, named Muhammad, at Kufa near the tombs of Ali and the later Imams. According to this Yemenite's own account, which is recorded by O'Leary in the *History of the Fatimid Khalifate*, "he had just read the *Sura* of "The Grotto" (Qur. XVIII) when he noticed an old man with a young companion close at hand. The old man sat down, his companion sat near, but kept on observing Muhammad, until at last he left the old man and drew near him. Muhammad asked him who he was. He gave his name as Husayn, and hearing this sacred name Muhammad could not restrain his tears. The old man observed this very attentively, and bids the young man ask him to join them. When Muhammad did so, he asked who and what he was. The man replied that he was a Shi'ite, and gave his name as Hasan b. Farash b. Hawshab. The old man said that he knew his father, and that he was a "Twelver". Did the son hold the same views? Hasan replied that he always had held them, but that of late he had felt much discouragement. From this a conversation commenced, and as a result Hasan was converted to acceptance of the Ismailian creed."

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It appears that Ibn Hawshab settled in the district of the Bani Musa tribe at Sana about the year 883 A.D. "At first, he claimed to be simply a merchant, but his neighbours soon penetrated his disguise and urged him to act openly as a Shi'ite missionary who, they assured him, would be in every way welcome. Thus encouraged, he declared himself a Shi'ite agent and soon gathered a considerable band of followers."

As soon as Ismailism was established in Yemen, Ibn Hawshab sent two missionaries, Hulwani and Abu Sufyan to Ifrikiya, the territory covered by modern Tripoli and Tunis, to preach among the aboriginal Berber population.

Among those who attached themselves to Ibn Hawshab in Yemen was a certain Abu Abdulla Hasan b. Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Zakariya afterwards surnamed Ash-Shi'i, a native of Sana. He had been an inspector of weights and measures in one of the districts attached to Baghdad. He was a man of high educational and intellectual attainments and soon became one of the most trusted of Ibn Hawshab's companions. When, therefore, news came of the death of the two missionaries who had been sent to Ifrikiya, Ibn Hawshab selected him to take their place.

Abu Abdulla first went to Mecca and thence with a band of pilgrims proceeded towards his destination. Arriving there, he took up his residence in the valley of *Al-Khiyar* (the Righteous Men). Very soon, the people from the surrounding country came to visit him and became attached to his cause.

It was not long before the growing popularity of Abu Abdulla reached the ears of the Aghlabi Emir,

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Ibrahim b. Ahmed, who sent his brother with an army to root out the influence of the new missionary. But Ismailism had spread so much among the tribes that the Aghlabi army could not make much headway. Meanwhile, Ibrahim, the Aghlabi, died, and his son, Ziadat-Allah succeeded to the governorship. He was alarmed by the growing strength of the Ismailis and sent an army of 40,000 men against them. Abu Abdulla met them on the way and routed them so effectually that they had to flee back to Kairawan, the capital of the province.

The situation having become serious, the Aghlabi ruler assembled another big force and entrusted it to one of his veteran generals. But this again met with a reverse. There were several more engagements which resulted in decisive victories for Abu Abdulla and Ziadat Allah escaped to Egypt.

The news of the Ismaili victory soon reached Kairawan, and a deputation was sent out by the people to congratulate the victors. The members of the deputation thought that by making contemptuous and hostile reflections upon the late ruler, they could gain the favour of the conqueror but in this they were mistaken. Abu Abdulla rebuked them saying that Ziadat Allah had lacked neither courage nor intelligence but that defeat had overtaken him because it was the will of God.

When the whole country was occupied, Mahomed Mehdi, the eleventh Imam of the Ismailis was publicly proclaimed in all the mosques as Caliph and spiritual head of Islam and a deputation was sent to Syria to invite him to the throne of Kairawan.

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Meanwhile, the news of the Ismaili conquest of Ifrikiya had reached the court of the ruler of Baghdad who, in great alarm, sent repeated orders for the arrest of Mahomed Mehdi. The Imam, however, reached Barbary in disguise with some difficulty, pursued by the emissaries of his enemies and though he was imprisoned, for some time, at Sijilmasa, he was rescued by his devoted followers, taken in triumph to Kairawan and placed on the throne.

Imam Mehdi ruled over Ifrikiya for a quarter of a century establishing his authority over the Arab and Berber tribes. He settled cities from the frontier of Egypt to the province of Fez in Morocco, received the allegiance of the Muslim Governor of Sicily and twice despatched expeditions into Egypt.

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CHAPTER II.

The Conquest of Egypt

The Ismaili rulers of Africa had long cherished the ambition of extending their authority to Egypt. Imam Mehdi had planned the conquest and built a fleet for this purpose but he did not make any serious attempt in the direction. Imam Kayam and Imam Mansur who succeeded him also had this ambition but it was not till the time of Imam Moizz, the great grandson of Imam Mehdi, that Ismailis conquered Egypt.

The invasion of Egypt was entrusted by Al-Moizz to Jawhar, the Commander of the Fatimid force.

Jawhar set out for Egypt in A.D. 969 and first advanced upon Alexandria. The city surrendered on generous terms, there being no pillage and no violence of any kind to the inhabitants. Fustat, the capital of the State, however, put up a resistance but finally capitulated. Jawhar who had camped outside the city had marked out a great square of 1,200 yards base, and men were stationed, spade in hand, ready to start the foundations of this new city at a given signal. The projected lines which were copied from a sketch provided by Al-Moizz himself were marked with pegs, connected by ropes from which hung bells that were to provide the signal for the turning of the first sod. Astrologers were busy calculating the propitious to provide the signal for the turning of the first sod. by a raven settling down unexpectedly on one of the

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ropes and setting the bells jingling. The men taking this as the signal started their work at a moment when Mars, (Al-Kahir) was in the ascendant. The city once commenced was completed and named Al-Kahira (the city of Mars) which in course of time came to be known as El Cairo or Cairo.

The entry of Al-Moizz into his new capital was a solemn spectacle. With him were all his sons and brothers and kinsfolk, and before him were borne the coffins of his ancestors; Fustat was illuminated and decked for his reception. He did not, however, enter the old capital but proceeded direct to the palace-city of Cairo.

Later, the capital was placarded with his name and the praises of Ali, and Moizz was loudly acclaimed by the people who flocked to his first public audience.

Among the presents offered to the new King, Jawhar's was magnificent. "It included," says Lane-Poole,* "500 horses with saddles and bridles encrusted with gold, amber and precious stones; tents of silk and cloth of gold, borne on Bactrian camels; dromedaries, mules, and camels of burden; filigree coffers full of gold and silver vessels; gold mounted swords; caskets of chased silver containing precious stones; a turban set with jewels, and 900 boxes filled with samples of all the goods that Egypt produced."

The palace of Al-Moizz was built on a grand and lavish scale and, including the members of his family, children, slaves, eunuchs and servants, the inmates were estimated at from eighteen to thirty thousand in number.

* "History of Egypt In Middle Ages" by Lane Poole

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"Of the size and splendour of the great palace," says Lane-Pole,* "The Arabic historians speak with bated breath. We read of four thousand chambers; —of the Golden Gate which opened to the golden hall, a gorgeous pavilion where the Caliph, seated on his golden throne, surrounded by his chamberlains and gentlemen in waiting (generally Greeks or Sudanis), surveyed from behind a screen of golden filigree the festivals of Islam;—of the Emerald Hall with its beautiful pillars of marble;—the great Divan, where he sat on Mondays and Thursdays at a window beneath a cupola;—and the Porch where he listened every evening while the oppressed and wronged came below and cried the *credo* of the Shi'a till he heard their griefs and gave redress."

History has provided numerous proofs of the profusion of wealth and costly magnificence of the Fatimid Court of Cairo. One of the daughters of Moizz left at her death five sacks of emeralds and huge quantities of all sorts of precious stones and other works of embroidery and art. Forty pounds of wax were needed to seal her rooms and chests. Another daughter left 2,700,000 gold dinars and 12,000 different dresses. Moizz himself ordered a map of the world in gold and colours to be worked on a piece of exquisite silk made at Tustar in Persia which cost him 22,000 dinars.

The reign of Moizz was one of the most glorious ever recorded in Egyptian history or the history of the east. He displayed judgment and justice in the management of his mixed subjects. He did not allow his troops to interfere with the people. He was well disposed towards the Copts who were not favourably

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looked upon by previous rulers and appointed one of them as the head of the Customs first in Egypt and later in Palestine. He introduced a new system of land administration under which the petty powers and profits of the collectors and farmers of taxes were abolished altogether. In these revenue reforms, he was ably assisted by Yakub b Killis who was previously a Jew but had embraced the Ismaili faith.

Yakub b.. Killis had started as a boy in the service of the Egyptian Government and had risen to the post of treasurer and minister in the time of Kafur who had usurped the throne of his Ikhshidi masters to some good purpose. After Kafur's death, his successors were not found as capable, and Yakub getting rough treatment from them went over to the Ismaili Court at Kairawan and placed before Moizz the plan of Egyptian conquest.

Later, when Moizz sat on the throne of his newly conquered country, Yakub was made vazier and held this position with great distinction.

As land administrator, Yakub used to sit with another colleague in the office of the emirate superintending all branches of revenue, calling up arrears and scrupulously examining all complaints and demands which resulted in a large increase in state revenues.

Yakub b. Killis was not only a good administrator but was also a great patron of learning. In the reign of Al-Aziz, the successor of Moizz, he turned the mosque of Al-Azhar into a university and secured from his master a grant for the maintenance of a fixed number of scholars. Thus began Al-Azhar, world-

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famous to this day as a great seat of Islamic learning, whose name is derived from Fatimah, the daughter of the prophet, who was called Al-Zahra (the luminous) of which the word Azhar is the masculine.

Yakub b. Killis did not stop at the founding of the University. He himself wrote the text-books for a thorough study of Ismailism and had them properly studied and interpreted.

Moizz, the conqueror of Egypt, appears from history to have been a man of outstanding qualities. According to O'Leary, he was a leader of his subjects and an able and clever administrator. Among his other brilliant characteristics were courage, bravery, adventurous spirit, culture, fondness for learning and art and an interest in education.

Lane-Poole, in his *History of Egypt in the Middle Ages,* pays the following rich tribute to this ruler. "Moizz" he says, "was a born statesman and never failed to take advantage of a suitable opportunity. His knowledge was so vast that he could not only write Arabic poetry and literature but he was a student of Greek, could talk the Sudanese and Berber dialects fluently and had acquired the knowledge of the Slavonic languages in order to be able to talk with the Slavs of Eastern Europe. His oratorical powers were so great that he brought tears to many eyes. Prominent among his many commendable qualities were righteousness, statesmanship, and an extraordinary regard for justice."

The reign of Moizz was noted for its sound administration. The provinces were divided into districts and placed under capable officers. The army was

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organised with a standing force and a militia to be summoned in times of war. A naval fleet was also organised to protect the coastal trade and commerce from pirates. A dock was built at Maks, the predecessor of Bulak as port of Cairo, and six hundred ships were built there—the largest fleet that Egypt had seen since the Arab conquest.

Moizz used to take personal interest in all details of administration. His tribunals were renowned for equity and he himself spared no pains to win the esteem of his subjects. But glorious as was his reign, he was not free from worry. The partisans of the former ruling dynasty having made a common cause with Karmatis, a rebel sect of Muslims who were considered impious by the orthodox, gave him constant trouble.

Many writers who do not know the history of Karmatis have confused them with Ismailis mainly because of their emphasis on the esoteric principles of the faith. But, in fact, the Karmatis were as much enemies of the Ismaili Caliphs as they were of the orthodox Caliphs of Baghdad.

How powerful were the Karmatis can be seen from the fact that even Moizz found his organised forces unequal to the defence, and it was some time before he could exploit the splits in the enemy ranks and turn them to his advantage in suppressing the Karmati plague.

Al-Moizz died in A.D. 975 and was succeeded by his son, al-Aziz, whose full title was al-Imam Nizar Abu Mansur al-Aziz bi-llah.

"The traditional picture of al-Aziz" says O'Leary, "represents him as humane, generous, a fearless hunter,

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and a successful general. Like his father, he had a strong taste for building, and erected a great mosque Kahira, generally known as the mosque of al-Hakim, as it was finished by his son Hakim, near the Bab al-Futuh: besides this he built the "Palace of Gold" facing his father's palace across the great square in the midst of Kahira, also a mosque in the cemetery of al-Karafa, and a palace at Ayn Shams."

Al-Aziz was tall, broad shouldered, with reddish hair, and large eyes of a dark blue colour. He was fond of sport, and showed a marked taste for literature. Like his father, he was favourably disposed towards the Copts and other Christians and had himself married a Christian lady whose two brothers had, by his influence, been appointed Malkite patriarchs—that is to say patriarchs of the church in communion with the orthodox Greek Church as distinguished from the Church to which the Copts belonged.

Though his wife belonged to the Malkite body, Al-Aziz extended his favours equally to the Coptic Church and gave permission to Efraim, the Coptic Patriarch to rebuild the church of Abu s-Seyfeyn in Fustat which was in ruins.

In the reign of al-Aziz, the Karmatis, who were mainly centred in Syria, had once again raised their heads and in alliance with Haftakin, a brave Turkish leader, had grown into a formidable menace to the Fatimid power. Al-Aziz would have let them be, but when their actions threatened the peace of the Empire, he had to send Jawhar at the head of a large army to quell the rebels. The Karmatis were soon defeated, but Haftakin decided to give battle to Jawhar and almost

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made him free, but al-Aziz himself coming to the rescue of his army, the situation was retrieved. Haftakin was taken prisoner and was ordered to be paraded through the troops during which, it is said, he had his beard pulled, and had to endure blows and insults of all sorts.

Haftakin who with other prisoners was taken to Cairo found, however, quite a different treatment awaiting him there. The Khalif treated him with every consideration, supplied him with garments and presents and assigned him a residence. Later, when he was admitted to the court as an honoured guest, Haftakin used to say: "I blush to mount my horse in the presence of our Lord, Aziz bi-llah, and dare not look at him because of the gifts and favours with which he overwhelms me."

Under Haftakin's command, Al-Aziz formed a faithful bodyguard of Turk Daylamites who were once prisoners in Cairo. Haftakin enjoyed the King's confidence and favours until his death which was said to have been caused by poisoning.

Yakub bin Killis who had been appointed vazir in the time of Al-Moizz continued in the post in the succeeding reign. It was largely due to him that the country enjoyed internal peace and order and the public revenues increased. After him came Isa bin Nestorius, a Christian who filled the vazir's post for two years.

In A.H. 386, Al-Aziz judged it expedient to visit Syria which though subject to his rule harboured hostile movements engineered by the Turks and the Greeks. At the beginning of the journey, however, he was taken ill at Bilbays and feeling that his end was near sent for Qadi Muhammad bin Nauman and general Abu

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Muhammad Hasan bin Ammar to whom he commended the care of his son, al-Hakim, who was then only eleven years old.

Al-Aziz throughout his prosperous reign lived truly on a magnificently regal scale. He introduced in his court new fashions of Persian origin such as turbans of cloth of gold, gold inlain armour, and other splendours which were copied by his nobles. At one time, he spent the equivalent of £12,000 on a silk curtain from Persia. His magnificence was not confined to dresses and generosity only. He had a marked passion for varieties of every sort. The most curious and foreign dainties were to be found at his table. His robes were costly and of rare materials brought from far off lands at tremendous expense. He was an expert in precious stones and articles of *vertu*, and had made a remarkable collection of these in his palace.

As a king, Al-Aziz was known for his paternal care of the people and introduced various financial reforms in the country. He introduced the system of paying every official and household servant a fixed amount for services and put down bribery and corruption with a firm hand.

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CHAPTER III

The Druse Sect

Al-Hakim who succeeded Al-Aziz as Imam and King ruled from A.D. 996 to A.D. 1021. During his boy-hood he was guided by Barjawan, a white eunuch who was appointed to act as *Ustad* or tutor to him. The *de-facto* governing powers were however in the hands of Ibn Ammar, a leader of the Katama people, who having ejected Isa b. Nestorius had seized the office of *Wasita* or chief minister and *Sifara* or Secretary of State.

Ibn Ammar held office for little less than eleven months, and was compelled to hand over his authority to Barjawan who having secured the support of Turks had gained the upper hand. The disgraced minister did not, however, meet the fate of the fallen, and though he was treated as a prisoner of state for some time and confined to his house, all his lands and sources of income were secured to him, and after a time, he was allowed even to go about freely and present himself at Court.

Barjawan remained in power for nearly three years but during this period his attitude towards his master appears to have been one of contempt. He is also reported to have applied to al-Hakim the nick-name of "lizard" which the latter resented but patiently bore for a long time and then one day sent to Barjawan the message; "the little lizard has become a great dragon and wants you." Barjawan was very much alarmed at

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this, and when he presented himself before the King, he was slain by Abul Fazal Raydan, the bearer of the royal parasol.

The death of Barjawan was followed by a riot in Cairo. Al-Hakim, who never lacked in personal courage, went out boldly in the midst of the mobs and declared: "I have been informed of an intrigue which Barjawan made against me, and for that I caused him to be executed."

After Barjawan's death, al-Hakim chose Husain, the son of general Jawhar, as his chief minister and bestowed upon him the title of *Qaid-ul-Qawwad* meaning "general of generals."

Many a historian has been unable to assess the reign of al-Hakim at its true worth. From the time he came of age, he had begun to assert his authority in the administration of the country. He began with an order forbidding any person, under penalty of death, to address him as "our Lord" or "our master" and to use instead the simpler title of the "commander of the faithful."

For some reason or other, he gave preference to night over day and held the meetings of his Council by night. He rode abroad in the city by night, and by his orders, "the streets were brightly illuminated, the shops opened and business and pleasure followed by artificial light. The citizens," says O'Leary, "vied with one another in hanging out lights and illuminating their houses to win the Khalif's approval. This continued for above five years." And during all this time, people kept their houses and business premises open by night without any fear of thieves.

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Al-Hakim, like his predecessors, was tolerant towards the Jews, Christians and those Muslims who did not accept the Ismailian tenets. He was generous to his officials. There is a story told of how when General Jayash, who had quelled the revolts in Syria, died, leaving a property valued at 200,000 pieces of gold to the Imam, his master, discarding the rights of his children, his son brought the will to al-Hakim. But al-Hakim said:

"I have read you father's will and the statement of the money and goods of which he has disposed by his will: Take it, and enjoy it in tranquillity and for your happiness."

Another story of al-Hakim's generosity is told by Kazi Shahbuddin in his book, *Maslek-ul-Ansar*. Once, al-Hakim was out on his usual wanderings in the city and felt thirsty on the way. He was near the entrance of a garden where a man stood surrounded by slaves. Approaching him, the king demanded a glass of water, and the owner of the garden ran and got it for him. When the king had slaked his thirst, the owner requested him to enter the garden and partake of his humble hospitality. While he was being entertained, al-Hakim noticed that his host was depressed and asking the reason why was informed that he had many properties and a large business but not having ready cash, he was suffering losses and difficulties. He asked him not to worry about it and, returning to the palace, sent the owner of the garden a sum of one crore and seven lakh dirhems from the royal treasury.

Historians have divided the reign of al-Hakim into three distinct stages—the first four years after Barja-

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wan's death, of tolerant and indulgent rule, the next five years of strict puritanism and then a life of mystic actions which were little understood by the masses.

The period of puritanism begins from A.H. 393 when a strict order was issued forbidding women to go out of doors by night. O'Leary attributes this to the abuses of the nocturnal festivities of Cairo by the pleasure loving character of the Egyptians. A little later, another order followed prohibiting the opening of shops by night. By A.H. 393, al-Hakim himself had ceased his night rides and had forbidden any person to be out after sun-set. In this year, he began to be active as a mosque-builder and as a generous benefactor of existing mosques. Two years later, it was enacted that no women were to appear in the street unveiled and that no persons were to use the baths without wearing wrappers—both in the nature of precautious against immorality.

Al-Hakim also passed a law against the use, manufacture or importing of wines or spirituous liquors. All vessels containing wine were seized and the wine poured out. Even grapes were not allowed to be grown or stored except for the purpose of food. That this was not due to any caprice but considerations of public interest is proved by the story related by Severus, a Christian patriarch, who says that in A.H. 402, a merchant who had invested all his moneys in the forbidden fruit which was confiscated and destroyed, sued the Khalif for damages in the court of the Chief Qadi. The plaintiff's case was that his loss amounted to 1,000 pieces of gold which he expected to be paid to him. The Khalif appeared in person and defended himself

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in the court of his own servant. He admitted that the law against the confiscated fruit was only restricted so far as it was used for the making of liquor which was prohibited by the Quaran. He was ready to pay the damages if the merchant declared on oath that he had no unlawful intentions as regards the fruit. The merchant refused to trust the Khalif and demanded that the money should be deposited in the court before he took his oath. The oath being taken the money was paid to him. When the case was over, the Qadi asked for his royal master's pardon for giving his decision against him as in duty bound; and al-Hakim appreciated this very highly. The plaintiff who was afraid of the consequences was also given a royal pardon.

Al-Hakim was, by all accounts, a brave, generous, learned, and just ruler. He put down crimes and intrigues with severity. People committing or encouraging adultery were put to death. For some time, the Christians and Jews suffered by his religious enactments but when they represented their difficulties to him, he gave them letters of protection. These letters were written out in three forms—one for Muslims who did not see eye to eye with the Ismailis in details of religious observance, a second for Christians and a third for Jews. Al-Maqrizi who is the chief authority for the history and antiquities of Cairo, has preserved a specimen of these letters from which one can gather that they were by way of licenses of toleration. It reads:

"In the name of God etc. This letter is from the servant of God and his wali Mansur Abu Ali the Imam Hakim bi-Amrillahi, Commander of the faithful, to the people of the

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Mosque of Abdullah: you are amongst those who are in safety with the security of God, the King, the evident Truth, and the security of our ancestor Muhammad, the seal of the prophets, and of our father Ali the best of his heirs, and of the line of the prophets, and of the people of the Mahdi our ancestor, may God be gracious to the Apostle and his envoy, and to all others of them and the security of the Commander of the faithful is upon you yourselves, upon your kindred and property. Do not fear for yourselves, let no hand be raised against you save for the punishment of wrong-doing, or for a claim made and proved. Confidence must be given to this, and one must count on the accurate fulfilment of what is above, God willing. Written in the month of Jumada II. 395. Praise be to God, may He be gracious to Muhammad the chief of the apostles, to Ali the best of his successors, and to the Imams of the house of the Mahdi, kinsmen of the prophet, and may abundant peace be upon them."

Maqrizi also records how in A.H. 397, Al-Hakim ordered all the inscriptions reviling the early Khalifs to be effaced, and all persons who cursed them to be punished by flogging and parading through the streets in disgrace. In this year, the King also sent a white veil to cover the "House of God," *Kaaba*, in Mecca.

A year earlier in A.H. 396, a revolt took place in North Africa in which Abu Raqwa, a follower of the Ummayads of Spain who were in their decline. took a leading part.

Abu Raqwa, "the man with the leather bottle" as he was called because of the bottle he carried like travelling darwishes, found refuge among the Berber tribe of Zanata and soon put himself at the head of a considerable army. He caused enough worry to the Fatmi troops from Egypt until Fazal bin Salih had him

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arrested and sent to Cairo where the Caliph ordered his execution.

The reign of al-Hakim was marked not only by intrigues and revolts but also by scarcity of rains, famine and plague. How he maintained his power through all these tribulations and difficulties is really a wonder.

It was during al-Hakim's reign that the sect of the Druses came into existence.

The word, Druse, appears to have been derived from the name of a Persian *dai* or missionary, Muhammad bin Ismail Darazi, who arrived in Egypt about the year A.H. 407 or 408. Ismail Darazi was a *Batinite* who believed in the transmigration of souls. He attached himself to al-Hakim and wrote a book in which he taught that the Divine spirit which God had breathed into Adam had passed on in due succession from prophet to prophet, through the Imam Ali, until at length it found its abode in the Imam Hakim.*

There were many among the advanced Shiites who followed the doctrine expounded but Darazi, but the orthodox looked upon it with disfavour. According to one account, when Darazi went to the Old Mosque in Cairo and started reading from the book he had written, a Turk from the audience fell upon him and killed him. But this account according to O'Leary, is not correct and Darazi was not killed at that time.

According to Abul Mahsin, who is considered the most weighty authority, Darazi escaped the tumult in the mosque and retired to Syria where he preached in

* O Leary- His ory of the Fatimid Khalifate

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the mountainous territory, obtaining many disciples among the wild tribes. All those who conformed to Darazi's teachings became known as Druses and are still to be found in very large numbers in Lebanon and other places.

About the same time as Darazi, or perhaps a little later, a Persian from Farghana named Hasan al-Akhram, appears to be developing the ideas which Darazi had expounded earlier. He, too, like his predecessor, went to the Old Mosque with a band of fifty followers, and presented a question to the Qadi beginning with the words: "In the name of Hakim, the merciful, the compassionate." The Qadi was indignant and the angry people fell upon Akhram and his followers. Akhram escaped but several of his followers were killed.

The most famous among the missionaries of the Druse faith was Hamza b. Ali b. Ahmed Hadi, a native of Zawzan in Persia. He is regarded by the Druses as their founder and their years date from the "Era of Hamza" which begins sometime in A.H. 408.

Hamza lived in the mosque of Bir at Mantarea, and preached to the people the teachings of Darazi. O'Leary is inclined to believe, however, that Hamza was the real teacher of the Druse faith and that Darazi was one of his converts.

According to Severus, a Syrian Christian, when Hakim's name was mentioned in the *Khutba*, all present stood up out of respect, but in Fustat, they made a prostration. He also refers to people who when Hakim appeared in the streets, used to prostrate themselves on

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the ground and cry out: "Oh thou only one, thou alone, thou who givest life and death."

With the rise of the Druses and the deification of Hakim by his followers, all the laws against Christians and Jews ceased and those who had embraced Islam through fear and desired to return to their former beliefs were permitted to do so.

Al-Hakim died, or to be more correct, disappeared, in A.H. 411 in circumstances which have yet to be disclosed. The Druses believe that he still lives in concealment to reveal himself in due time when the world is ready for him.

Some say that al-Hakim was the victim of the treachery of Yusuf, a noble man, who had long lived in fear of the King.

Al-Miqrizi than whom no better authority can be found on the history of the period says that the circumstances of al-Hakim's disappearance have not been fully ascertained. But he is quite emphatic that there is no truth in the report that certain people were secretly involved in the murder of the Imam.

According to Ibn Khallikan, "Hakim went out late in the night of the 27th Shawal 411 A.H. and spent the whole night going about on the Mokattam hill. At day break, he was near the tomb of Fokkai, and thence went east to Hulwan, about five miles from Cairo accompanied by two attendants. He then met a company of Arabs, nine in number, who had a request to make of him. He told them to go to the palace, and sent one of his attendants with them. For some time, he continued with the second attendant, then told him to go back also. At that time, he was still near the tomb of Fokkai. The second attendant returned to the palace and left the Khalif alone on

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Mokattam. Next morning, he did not return, and for three days no sign of him was seen; then, on Sunday, the 2nd of Dhul Zada, the eunuch Nessim, who was the Chamberlain, and a number of other officials, went out on the hills to make a search. At length they reached the monastery known as Dayr al-Kosayr, and near there they found Hakim's ass with its saddle on but its legs hacked off. Following the footsteps of the ass, which were accompanied by the foot prints of two men, they came to a hollow where they found the Khalif's clothes with marks of cuts, but the buttons not undone. Nobody was ever found. It was assumed that Hakim had been murdered, and that his arms had been cut off before the clothes were removed."*

There is another version of this given by Al-Mahisin as recorded by O'Leary which says:

"Hakim went out, and that after sending back Nesim and his squire, he had as companions only a page and a young slave: at the time he was filled with apprehensions as he knew from his horoscope that the night was one of great peril to him. When he was on Mokattam, he said: "We belong to God and return to him:" Then clapping his hands together he added, "Thou hast appeared then, O dismal sign," referring to the star whose appearance he took as the warning of his death. Going along the hill-side he met ten men of the B. Quorra who had a request to make to him; and said that they had often waited in vain at his palace door. Hakim orders them to be paid 10,000 pieces of silver from the treasury and directs his page to go with them and draw the money for them. They objected that it might be that the Khalif was angry with them for interrupting his walk, and that perhaps the order in the page's hand might privately direct that they were to be put to punishment, so they requested that he would also give them a safe conduct, and this the Khalif gave. Hakim and the young slave then go on and enter a valley where the two men sent by Yusuf are lying in ambush. They came out and fell upon him just as the day was dawning."

O'Leary—History of the Fatimid Khalifate

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For several years afterwards, there were constant rumours of Hakim's return. One historian, Bar Hebraeus, tells of a widespread belief in Egypt that Hakim had been recognised as a monk at Sketis. One thing is however certain, that the body of this mysterious personality was never discovered, and there were a few pretenders who, for a time, passed for him and found enthusiastic supporters.

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CHAPTER IV

Nizaris or "Eastern Ismailis"

Imam Hakim was succeeded by his son az-Zahir who ruled from A.D. 1021 to A.D. 1035.

The early part of this reign was marked by terrible famine conditions which were due to bad Niles. The country was over-run by brigands whose ranks were swelled by starving villagers. By about the middle of the reign, however, prosperity returned.

In A.H. 418, az-Zahir made a treaty with the Greek Emperor, Constantine III by which it was agreed that the Fatimid Khalif should be prayed for in the *Khutba* in every mosque in the Byzantine dominions, and permission was given for the restoration of the mosque at Constantinople, which had been destroyed in retaliation for the destruction of the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem. Az-Zahir, on his part, agreed to permit the rebuilding of the Church at Jerusalem*

From the historical point of view, the reign of az-Zahir is noted for the re-establishment of Fatimid authority in Palestine and Syria.

Az-Zahir died in A.H. 427 (A.D. 1035) at Cairo leaving the succession to his son, al-Mustansir, then a child seven years of age.

The reign of al-Mustansir was the longest in the history of the Khalifate and lasted for sixty years. The earlier and latter part of it were filled with dissensions

* O'Leary—History of Fatimid Khalifate.

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in the palace which considerably undermined the Fatimid power.

The Persian poet, Nasir-i-Khusraw, who visited Cairo in the time of al-Mustansir has left a most graphic account of the wealth and splendour of the Fatimid Court in his *Safar-nama*.

In this book, the author, who gives his full name as Abu Mu'ini'd-Din Nasir-i-Khusraw al-Qubadiyani al-Marwazi, says that he was employed for some while in Khurasan as a secretary and revenue-officer under Government, in the time of Chaghri Beg Da'ud the Seljuqid.

"In the autumn of A.D. 1045," says E. G. Browne,* "Nasir-i-Khusraw being warned by a dream, determined to renounce the use of wine, to which he had hitherto been much addicted, as being "the only thing capable of lessening the sorrow of the world," and to undertake the pilgrimage to Mecca. At this time he was about forty years of age. He performed a complete ablution, repaired to the Mosque of Juzjanan, where he then happened to be, registered a solemn vow of repentance, and set out on his journey on Thursday, the sixth of Jumada II, A.H. 437 (=December 19, A.D. 1045). He travelled by way of Shaburqan to Merv, where he tendered his resignation. Thence he proceeded to Nishapur, which he quitted in the company of Khwaja Muwaffaq (the same, probably, who appears in the 'Umar Khayyam legend as the tutor of the three companions), and, visiting the tomb of the Sufi saint Bayazid of Bistam at Qumis, came, by way of Damghan, to Samnan. Here he met a certain

* Literary History of Persia.

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Ustad 'Ali Nisa'i, a pupil of Avicenna and lecturer on arithmetic, geometry, and medicine, of whom he seems to have formed an unfavourable opinion. Passing onwards through Qazwin, he reached Tabriz on Safar 20 A.H. 438 (=August 26, A.D. 1046), and there made the acquaintance of the poet Qatran, to whom he explained certain difficult passages in the poems of Daqiqi and Manjik. From Tabriz he made his way successively to Van, Akhlat, Bitlis, Arzan, Mayafaraqin, Amid, Aleppo, and Ma'arratun-Nu'man, where he met the great Arabic philosophical poet Abu'l-'Ala al-Ma'arri, of whose character and attainments he speaks in the warmest terms. Thence he came to Hama, Tripoli, Beyrout, Sidon, Tyre, Acre, and Hayfa. After spending some time in Syria in visiting the tombs of prophets and other holy places, including Jerusalem and Bethlehem, he made his first pilgrimage to Mecca in the late spring of AD. 1047. From Mecca he returned by way of Damascus to Jerusalem, whence finding the weather unfavourable for a sea voyage, he decided to proceed by land to Egypt, and finally arrived in Cairo on Sunday, Safar 7, A.H. 439 (=August 3, A.D. 1047).

"In Egypt Nasir-i-Khusraw remained two or three years, and this marks an epoch in his life, for here it was that he became acquainted with the splendour, justice, and wise administration of the Fatimid Caliph, al-Mustansir billah, and here it was that he was initiated into the esoteric doctrines of the Isma'ili creed, and received the commission to carry on their propaganda and to be their "Proof" (*Hujjat*) in Khurasan. In the *Safar-nama*, which would seem to have been written for the general public, he is reticent on religious matters;

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assume that the admirable example presented to other governments of that period by the Fatimids had no inconsiderable effect in his conversion to those views of which, till the end of his long life, he was so faithful an adherent and so earnest an exponent. That he was familiar with the Gospels is proved by several passages in his poems; and no doubt he held that men cannot gather grapes from thorns or figs from thistles, and that a doctrine capable of producing results which contrasted so favourably with the conditions prevalent under any other contemporary government had at any rate a strong *prima facie* claim to serious and attentive consideration."

Al-Mustansir's reign was the culminating point of the power and glory of the Fatimid dynasty, whose empire, in spite of the then recent loss of Morocco, Algiers, and Tunis, still included the rest of North Africa, Egypt, Sicily, Malta and varying portions of Syria, Asia Minor, and the shores of the Red Sea. Indeed, in A.D. 1056 Wasit, and two years later Baghdad itself, acknowledged al-Mustansir as their lord, while the allegiance of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, was regained for a time in 1075, and though Damascus was lost in the same year, Tyre, Sidon, and Acre were occupied by his troops in 1089.

Nasir-i-Khusraw lived in Egypt for seven years. After performing the (seventh) pilgrimage he came to Basra, and then returned to Khurasan, where he worked as an Ismaili missionary in Balkh. Because of his religious views, his life was attempted upon and he became a fugitive in the highlands of Simingan, where

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he remained for twenty years, content to subsist on water and herbs.

Nasir-i-Khusraw's journey, from the time that he quitted his country until the time when he returned, lasted exactly seven years (from Thursday, 6 Jumada II, A.H. 437, until Saturday, 26 Jumada II, A.H. 444 *(December 19, 1045, until October 23, 1052)*, and during this time he performed the pilgrimage five times.

At the time of his visit, Nasir-i-Khusraw estimates the whole Egyptian army as 215,000 men of Cavalry. 35,000 came from North Africa, Berbers and Arabs; 50,000 were Arabs from the Hijaz and 30,000 were of mixed composition. In the infantry 20,000 were black troops from North Africa; 30,000 were Nubians, Sudanese etc., and 10,000 were Syrians, Turks and Kurds. There were said to be 30,000 slaves and 10,000 "palace guard" which must have been in the nature of a foreign legion.

The splendour and magnificence of the Cairo Court which Nasir-i-Khusraw has described in *Safarnama* are in no way an exaggeration. For long after the Fatimid Empire had begun to wane, Crusaders from the west had obtained exactly the same impression.

Some years after Nasir-i-Khusraw left for Western Asia to work as an Ismailian missionary the state of affairs in Cairo became extremely embarrassing. The Turkish troops under Nasir-ud-dowla chased the Negro regiments to upper Egypt and held the successive vizirs in subjection depleting the treasury by increasing their pay to nearly twenty times the former figure. When the treasury was drained, the works of art and valuables of all kinds from the palace were sold to

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satisfy their demands. Often the mercenary troops themselves purchased the articles for a nominal price and sold them at a profit. Emeralds valued at 300,000 dinars were bought by one Turkish general for 500 dinars and in one fortnight of the year 460 A.H., articles to the value of 30,000,000 dinars were sold off to provide pay for the army.

Nasir-ud-dowla's excesses might have gone very far had not Badi al-Jamali, who was acting as Governor of Tyre, come to the rescue of the people. He put down the mercenaries with a firm hand and restored order.

But while peace and prosperity reigned in the country again, internal rivalries continued and resulted in two parties, one supporting Nizar, the eldest son of the Imam and the other supporting Mustealli, the second son. Though Nizar was the rightful claimant to the throne after his father's death his younger brother, supported by his father-in-law, the chief Vazir, usurped all power. Nizar, thereupon, removed himself to Alexandria and established his headquarters there. He was not allowed, however, to live there long in peace. Mustealli feeling insecure during Nizar's existence plotted against him and finally succeeded in making him prisoner along with his two sons.

The death of Mustansir thus gave rise to two rival groups among the Ismailis, a western (Egyptian, Syrian and North African) and an eastern (Persian).

There is a bitter controversy over the respective claims of Nizar and Mustealli to the *Imamat*. As far as can be ascertained, the official heir-apparent till the end

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of Mustansir's reign was his eldest son, Prince Nizar who was over fifty years old at the time of his father's death. This has been admitted in *al-Hidayatul Amiriya* or *ar-Risalatul-Amiriya,* a document emanating from the highest Musteallian authority which comes under the category of official instructive correspondence issued by the Fatimid Imams to guide their followers in religious matters, especially in situations of emergency.

It is argued in this document that though Nizar was officially proclaimed heir-apparent of his father and provincial agents of the Government duly informed about this, the appointment was cancelled first by the subsequent nomination of Nizar's younger brother, Abdulla, and later on by the *nass* or divine ordination to Mustealli, in the last moments of Mustansir's life.

It is further argued that a verbal order is more valid than an order given in writing. This must be in reference to the written document which Nizar possessed concerning his appointment as heir.

An important point in the Musteallian document is the revocation of *nass* which is emphatically put forward against the claim of Nizar. But Ismailism, it is well-known, stands on the dogma of the irrevocability of *nass* and the clear understanding that the Imam is incapable of making a mistake and that his decision, divinely inspired in *nass,* cannot be changed either lightly or frivolously at will.

It is indeed surprising that Mustealli should have had to make use of all these arguments in his favour when he had the strongest support of the army and,

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what was claimed for him, the right of divine ordination.

Nizar's death in prison, under highly suspicious circumstances, did not mitigate the fears of Mustealli's successor and followers. Al Amir, the son of Mustealli, in the course of an epistle he issued after ascending the throne, refers to a descendant of Nizar being hidden by Hasan bin Sabbah in Khorasan. This story coming from the camp of the bitter enemies of Nizaris effectively refutes the supposition of orthodox historians that Nizar left no successor to continue his work.

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CHAPTER V

The Power of Almut

While the supporters of Mustealli were rejoicing in their success, the foundation of the Ismaili power was being laid in Iraq where, in subsequent years, history was made by the devout and faithful followers of the Imam.

According to *Tarikhul Islam* Hadi, the eldest son of Nizar, escaped from gaol and lived in Iraq where, in course of time, he came into prominence as the ruler of Almut.

The history of Almut is closely connected with the life and activities of a missionary, Hasan bin Sabbah, the great organiser of the Ismaili movement in Persia.

Hasan bin Sabbah was a Shi'ite of the "Twelver" sect but having come under the influence of Abdul Malik Attash, had embraced Ismailism. He had been to Egypt in the time of Mustansir. The Imam was so greatly impressed by his faith and devotion that he was entrusted with the difficult task of upholding the succession of Nizar, the Imam's eldest son, as against the claim of Mustealli, a younger one, who was backed up by powerful relatives from his mother's side.

Hasan bin Sabbah appears to have been a man of great sincerity, moral courage and spiritual faith, and though he was tempted with worldly considerations by the supporters of Mustealli, he steadfastly refused to

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be false to his Imam and strove for a number of years, without money, men or material power, to establish the claim of the Nizari line.

There are various accounts of the life of Hasan bin Sabbah, some of them not at all flattering, but they are all agreed that though he had numerous opportunities to arrogate the powers of religious leadership to himself, he always made himself sub-servient to the cause of the Imam.

Juwaini, in his historical work, *Tarikhe Jehangushayi*, admits that Hasan bin Subbah did not hesitate to sentence to death both his sons for some religious crimes thereby proving that he did not struggle for authority for the members of his family. And Juwaini was no friend or sympathiser of the Ismailis. When Hasan bin Sabbah died, his post was occupied by Kiya Buzurg who had no kinship with his great predecessor.

The idea of erecting impregnable fortresses on the top of Almut mountain emanated from Hasan bin Sabbah who, while the Imam was in the hands of his enemies, had made complete preparations for his rescue and future installation.

When Almut was properly organised, Hasan bin Sabbah sent his trusted men to bring the eight year old Imam Hadi from Egypt.

Though the Imam was restored to the Ismailis, Almut, the headquarters of the sect, was not safe for quite a long time. Nizamul Mulk, the prime minister of Sultan Saljuki fearing the rapidly growing power of Hasan bin Sabbah prevailed upon his king to invade Almut. When the news reached Hasan bin Sabbah, a

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conference of leading Ismailis was held in the fort and it was resolved that instead of fighting the enemy against heavy odds, the root cause of the trouble should be removed. Though every Ismaili in the fort was ready to fight to the last man and give every drop of blood for the Imam, Hasan bin Sabbah was averse to cause needless bloodshed. He, therefore, decided to remove Nizamul Mulk whose evil advice had made the Saljuki king undertake the invasion. And this was accomplished by one of the *Fidawis* or devoted Ismailis who managed to enter the camp of the prime minister and struck him down with his dagger. This incident had the desired effect on the enemy, and the invading army returned to its country.

Almut was threatened a second time by Sultan Sanjar who was ruler of Khurasan but later became the *de facto* monarch of Persia. But Hasan bin Sabbah again averted an open engagement by conveying a warning to the invader. When Sultan Sanjar was sleeping in his tent, a *Fidawi* entered the place quietly and striking a dagger in the ground near the royal bed, left a note by its side. When the Sultan woke up in the morning, he was startled by the sight of the dagger. Seeing the note, he picked it up and read the warning which said: "Sultan Sanjar, beware! Had not thy character been respected, the hand that struck this dagger into the hard ground, could, with more ease, have plunged it into thy soft bosom" *

The Sultan was too frightened by this to carry out his original plan of invasion and ordered his army to start on the return march.

* Tuarikh Guzedah.

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Murders like those of Nizamul-Mulk have been misunderstood by many and Hasan bin Sabbah has been credited with having organised a band of assassins and terrorists. Nothing could be farther from the truth, however. To realise the true import of these stray tragedies, one must try to understand the position of the Ismailis of Almut and how they were faced, on all sides, with powerful enemies, who, without the slightest provocation and on the strength of their military force, were ever ready to suppress them.

Had Hasan bin Sabbah not followed the course he did, the next alternative for him was open war, which would have involved loss of thousands of human lives without any reason.

Some people are rather inclined to be harsh towards Hasan bin Sabbah for the death of Nizamul-Mulk.

Hasan, Nizamul-Mulk and Omar Khayyam, the famous author of the *Rubbaiyat*, were pupils of the same master in boyhood and had made an early agreement to share fortunes if any one of them attained eminence. When Nizamul-Mulk rose to power, he helped Omar Khayyam at the court of Sultan Saljuki. When Hasan bin Sabbah came to him during his early wanderings, he helped him at first but later finding that his friend was outshining him at the court, planned his disgrace before the King and thus got him out of his way. Years afterwards though Hasan bin Sabbah forgot the episode, Nizamul-Mulk, carried with him the fear of a guilty conscience and plotted his destruction with dire result to himself.

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The Ismailis of Almut have been commonly referred to as "assassins" by a number of Western writers who have endeavoured to weave around them strange stories commonly associated with the lawless bands of secret societies.

That the word "assassins" was never applied to Ismailis can be gathered from the fact that Muslim historians of the orthodox type who were hardly sympathetic to Ismailis and have recorded incidents connected with them in as unfavourable a light as possible, have never once mentioned the word "assassins" in referring to them. It was after the Crusades that the word "assassins" came to be used, and though one explanation of it is that it was a corrupt form of "hashishin" or users of Indian hemp or *cannabis indica*, it can immediately be ruled out as a wrong one because this was known to the Arabs and Persians as *Varkul Khiyal* and *Varkul Kumb* (*vide* "*Jamenulhuyat*" and Richardson's Dictionary) and not as Hashish. The only reasonable solution of the mystery of this word is that advanced by historian John Malcolm who says that "Assassins" was a corruption of "Hasnins" which means the followers of Hasan.

John Malcolm has also provided an explanation for the extraordinary power which a small band of Ismailis could wield from Almut. More than fifty thousand men, he says, gloried in the name of *Battenee* (esoteric) and *Fedawee* (faithful), and everyone of these obeyed, with equal promptitude an order to sacrifice his own life, or to take that of another.

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The story of Hasan bin Sabbah who controlled these men for his spiritual lord and master, Imam Hadi, is very interesting and has been differently related by different writers. According to E. G. Browne, the author of *A Literary History of Persia,*

"Hasan-i-Sabbah's full name was Al-Hasan b. 'Ali b. Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Husayn b. as-Sabbah al-Himayari, but he would not allow his followers to record his pedigree, saying "I would rather be the Imam's chosen servant than his unworthy son." His father came from Kufa to Qum, where Hasan was born. From the age of seven he was passionately fond of study, and till the age of seventy he read widely and voraciously. Hitherto, like his father, he had belonged to the sect of The Twelve; but about this time he fell under the influence of a Fatimid *Dai* named Amir Darrab After many long conferences and discussions with Amir Darrab, Hasan remained unconvinced, though shaken; but a severe illness, from which he scarcely expected to recover, seems to have inclined him still further to belief. On his recovery, he sought out Ismaili *Dais,* 'Bu Najm-i-Sarraj (the "saddler") and a certain Mu'min who had been authorised to engage in the propaganda by Shaykh [Ahmed b.] Abdul Malik b. Attash, a prominent leader of the Ismailis in Persia. This man was subsequently captured and crucified on the reduction of the Ismaili stronghold of Shah-dizh or Diz-kuh near Isfahan about A.H. 499 (=A.D. 1105-6). Mu'min ultimately, with some diffidence, (for he recognised in Hasan-i-Sabbah a superior in intelligence and force of character), received from the distinguished proselyte the *bait,* or oath of allegiance to the Fatimid Caliph. In Ramadan, A.H. 464 (May-June, 1072) Ibn 'Attash, whose proper sphere of activity or "see" was Isfahan and Adharbayjan, came to Ray, saw and approved Hasan b. Sabbah, and bade him go to Egypt, to Cairo, the Fatimid Capital. Accordingly, in A.H. 467 (A.D. 1074—75), he went to Isfahan, whence, after acting for two years as Ibn 'Attash's vicar or deputy, he proceeded to Egypt by way of Adharbayjan, Mayafariqin, Mawsil, Sinjar, Rahba, Damascus,

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Sidon, Tyre, Acre, and thence by sea. On his arrival at his destination on August 30, A.D. 1078, he was honourably received by the chief *Dai*, Bu Daud and other notables, and was the object of special favours on the part of al Mustansir."

It seems Hasan bin Sabbah remained in Cairo for eighteen months but at the end of that period was compelled, by the jealousy of Mustealli and his partisans, especially Badr, the Commander-in-Chief, to leave Egypt. He embarked at Alexandria in Rajab A.H. 472 (January, 1081), was wrecked on the Syrian coast, and returned by way of Aleppo, Baghdad, and Khuzistan to Isfahan which he reached at the end of Dhul-Hijja, A.H. 473 (June, 1081). Thence, he extended his propaganda in favour of Nizar, the eldest son of al-Mustansir, to Yazd, Kirman, Tabiristan, Damghan, and other parts of Persia. He avoided Ray fearing capture as it was known that Nizam-ul-Mulk had given special instructions to that effect to his son-in-law, Abu Muslim, the Governor of the District, and reaching Qazwin, obtained possession of the strong mountain fortress of Almut, originally *Aluh-amut* a name which signifies "the eagle's nest" in the language of the province. By an extraordinary coincidence, the sum of the numerical values of the letters comprised in the name of this castle (1+30+5+1+40+6+400=483) gives the date (A.H. 483=A.D. 1090-91) of its acquisition by Hasan bin Sabbah.

Almut was only the beginning of the new Ismaili kingdom. Soon after, Hasan bin Sabbah acquired similar other strong-holds and made them impregnable.

This founding of a power, different in nature to any that had been yet noticed, was not a matter of

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chance or opportunity. Hasan bin Sabbah had been gradually working towards it. In his early days of struggle when he was forced to live in concealment to escape the vigilance of Nizamul-Mulk's officials, he had told Rais Abul Fazal Lumbhanee, his host in Isfahan, "that, if he had two or three friends on whom he could entirely depend, he would over-turn the Empire." Abul Fazal listened to his guest with considerable doubts as to his sanity. For, the kingdom, that his friend proposed to destroy with the help of two or three persons stretched from Antioch to Kashgar and was reckoned the most powerful. Concluding that Hasan bin Sabbah had been affected in mind, he consulted a physician in all sincerity and obtaining some medicine prayed his friend to take it. Hasan smiled but made no further communications to one who, he realised from this occurrence, could not be entrusted with his designs. Soon after this incident, he departed to his native town and collected a band of faithful followers and from there proceeded to Almut and took possession of the fort by a bold stratagem.

It is related that when Hasan bin Sabbah had been established at Almut, he received a visit from his old host at Isfahan, Rais Abul Fazal. When the latter approached, he took his hand and asked with a smile: "Have you brought any physic, my good friend, to cure me of my insanity? or will you now believe, that two or three brave men, united, can do wonders?"

"I always thought you an able man" replied Abul Fazal, "but I never expected you would have done what you have."

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One of the greatest contributions to the success of Hasan bin Sabbah was the extraordinary faith of Ismailis and their love for the Imam whose cause Hasan bin Sabbah was advocating with singleness of purpose. The men he had gathered round him were such that they valued not their life in the Imam's service. The fantastic stories of the secret garden where the *fidawees* were taken in a doped condition to taste, by anticipation, the joys of Paradise have no basis in fact. John Malcolm in *The History of Persia*, says that "this seems an improbable tale, invented by Mahomedans, who held this sect (Ismailis) in great abhorrence."

"The use of wine was strictly forbidden to the sect," continues, the same historian, "and they were enjoined the most temperate and abstemious habits. He enforced his precepts with the greatest severity; and two of his sons, we are told, perished under the blows he gave them, in consequence of their neglect of them. We may judge of the little personal state which he assumed, when informed, that, on sending his wife and two daughters to his friend, Rais Muzaffer, that they might be in safety when he was besieged, he directed that they should receive no support but what they could earn by their spinning; thus setting an example to his followers of that moderation and independence which were necessary to the success of their community."

It was no wonder that the Ismailis carried out his orders with mute obedience, in the full realisation that what he did was not for his own benefit but for the glory of the Imam. How powerful was the effect of Hasan bin Sabbah's teachings on the mind of the Ismailis can be seen from a story related by John Malcolm.

"When an envoy from Malik Shah came to Allahamout (Almut), Hussun commanded one of his subjects to stab him-

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self; and another, to cast himself headlong from a precipice. Both mandates were instandy obeyed! "Go," said he to the astonished envoy, "and explain to your master the character of my followers."

Another anecdote of a later period preserved by Fra Pipino and Marino Sanuto is recorded by E. G. Browne in *Literary History of Persia* as follows:

"When, during a period of truce, Henry, Count of Champagne (titular King of Jerusalem), was on a visit to the Old Man of Syria, one day, as they walked together, they saw some lads in white sitting on the top of a high tower. The *Shaykh*, turning to the Count, asked if he had any subjects as obedient as his own; and without waiting for a reply, made a sign to two of the boys, who immediately leaped from the tower and were killed on the spot."

O'Leary, a harsh critic of the Ismailian rulers and Hasan bin Sabbah, is forced to pay a tribute to the Ismailis of Almut in the following words:

"When the headquarters of the Sect at Almut were finally taken they were found to contain a vast library as well as an observatory and a collection of scientific instruments. In fact we may say with confidence that the "Assassins" represent the highest level of scholarship and research in contemporary Asiatic Islam."

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CHAPTER VI

The Period of Crusades

After the death of Hasan bin Sabbah, there were two more governors of Almut, Kiya Buzurg and his son Mahomed.

In the time of Mahomed Bin Kiya Buzurg, an unknown Iraqui Arab, who later became famous in history as Sinan, arrived in Almut. Mahomed welcomed him and looked after him as his own son. Soon, this newcomer accepted the tenets of Ismailism and his abilities having come to the notice of Imam Ala Mahomed, he was made chief *Dai* on the death of Mahomed Bin Kiya Buzurg and sent to Syria with the royal warrant of appointment.

Sinan reached Kahaf in A.H. 552. At this time, Syria was under the control of Abu Mahomed, an Ismaili *Dai*, who had been appointed Governor of the province by Imam Mohamed. In ordinary course, Sinan might have gone to the Governor and presented the credentials of his higher office, but he remained content to live in a small village near Kahaf, leading a simple and peaceful existence.

To the people, Sinan was known as an ascetic whose sole purpose in life was to teach their children, render medical treatment to the suffering and pass the rest of his hours in prayers. That such a man should become the talk of the place was but natural and before long, Governor Abu Mahomed's curiosity having been roused, he invited him to his castle and offered him

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facilities to live near him. Sinan accepted the offer and lived in the castle as an humble person earning the gratitude and respect of the people by his numerous virtues.

In A.H. 654, Abu Mahomed who had reached the ripe age of 80 or 90, was laid down with a serious illness. One day before his death, Sinan entered his room and without indulging in any preliminaries addressed himself thus to the invalid: "Your end is drawing near. Hence, it would be better if you examine my credentials which I have received from the Imam appointing me to your place."

These words coming from the mysterious person made Abu Mahomed sit up with a start. He whom he had treated as a servant for seven years was none but the person appointed as his successor by the Imam! Thus did Sinan assume the Governorship of Syria—an office in which he had to face the opposition of powerful rulers like Sultan Salauddin.

How Sinan could stand successfully before internal intrigues and external menaces is a mystery to many. But the outstanding secret of his success appears to lie in his extraordinary ability to foresee trouble and nip it in the bud. Sinan had established a perfect espionage system which covered not only his territory but that of his enemies also. The news of brewing trouble used to reach him through a flock of carrier pigeons that were specially trained for the purpose and which used to carry his orders to the respective secret agents to whom they were addressed.

Sultan Salauddin made two serious attempts to take the Ismaili forts during Sinan's time. In his first

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attempt, he was frightened by four Ismailis who mysteriously entered his camp and attacked him. Salauddin was saved by a miracle but he was so unnerved by this experience that he returned with his army.

Six weeks later, Salauddin made a second determined effort to root out the Ismailis and reached the fort of Masiaf setting fire to the country and putting everyone in his way to the sword. Sinan was away at this time but hearing of the enemy, he hastened to Masiaf to find the place besieged. He had only two Ismailis and one servant with him. One of these entered the tent of Salauddin and delivered a warning. Salauddin was frightened but did not show it in his face. Sinan then called Shahbuddin, Salahuddin's uncle, and told him that unless the siege was raised, he, the Sultan and other nobles of his would get an unpleasant taste of Ismaili swords. When Salauddin heard this, he took off his army from Ismaili territory and kept his movements secret for quite a long time.

Another instance of a similar kind is that of Nuruddin Jangi who had planned an invasion of the Ismaili forts but was dissuaded from it by the discovery of a dagger with a message which stated: "If you do not raise your camp by the evening, this weapon will take your life." Nuruddin Jangi promptly took the advice.

It was in the time of Sinan that the crusades were fought. Though in the beginning, Sultan Salauddin and Sinan were enemies, they later became good

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friends. King Richard, *Coeur de Lion*, who was on the side of the Crusaders, also became a friend of these two. All these three held different views, but they were united by their manliness, remarkable valour and bravery.

Just as King Richard's sense of justice was misconstrued as partiality towards the enemy, similarly various acts of Sinan and Salauddin have been removed from their context and painted in the darkest colours possible by some of the Crusaders. The murder of Conrad of Montferrat which has been ascribed to the plotting of Sinan and Salauddin alternately may have been due to a number of other causes. The Crusaders, among themselves, were not quite united and even King Richard was looked upon by them with suspicion. Further their cruelty to Muslim prisoners of Tyre in the presence of Salauddin and the overbearing attitude adopted by them after the murder of an Ismaili emissary in Jerusalem may have had adversely affected Muslim public feeling against Conrad who had assumed an uncompromising attitude towards non-Christians.

Though the Crusades did not affect the Muslim empires, they resulted in the Crusaders spreading a number of false reports about the "Assassins."

How far these stories are taken at their face value in Europe can be seen from the fact that a well-known firm of publishers in England issued in the Mag's Famous Wonder Books Library series a story entitled *The Making of a Bandit* for the benefit of children. In this book, the author has been so

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indifferent in studying facts that he has mixed up Hasan bin Sabbah with Sinan, two characters which lived at different distant dates and ascribed to the former the attempt on the life of Salauddin which originated with Sinan. This book in common with other European publications states that the Ismailis were wiped out by the Mongolian Tartars and Bibars, Sultan of Egypt. But history, as distinct from fiction, proves otherwise.

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CHAPTER VII

Fall of Almut

While the Ismailis were consolidating their strength in Almut, a new power had come into existence in the East. Chengiz Khan, a Mongol ruler, who had reduced the whole of Tartary, turned his ambitious gaze to the Muslim countries. Before his death, his armies had either subdued or over-run the whole of Persia and his dominions extended from the Indus to the Euxine, from the banks of the Volga to the distant plains of China, and from the arid shores of Persian Gulf to the wastes of Siberia. The ravages committed by Chengiz Khan were indeed terrible. The Mongols were an idolatrous people and held the Muslims in great contempt. According to Muslim historians, after Bokhara was taken, the pious and learned men were compelled to perform the lowest and most menial offices for their savage conquerors, the libraries of the city were turned into stables, and all the books were destroyed.

After the death of Chengiz Khan, his grandson, Batow Khan, conquered Russia and Bulgaria and ravaged the countries of Poland, Moravia and Dalmatia marching into Hungary in order to attack Constantinople when death cut short his victorious career.

Mangu Khan, another grandson of Chengiz, succeeded to the dominion of Tartary and sent his brother Halaku to conquer Persia. Halaku, it is said, started with one hundred and fifty thousand horse and a

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thousand families of Chinese artificers who were skilled in the construction of military machines and in preparing and using every species of inflammable susbtances for attacking walled towns.

Halaku started from Karakoram in July 1251 with special instructions to exterminate the Ismailis and the Caliphate of Baghdad. He proceeded slowly at first, spent the summer of 1254 in Turkistan and reached Samarkand in September 1255. In January 1256, Halaku reached Kesh and in the March of the same year, Tun and Khwaf, two of the Ismaili strongholds bore the brunt of his attack and were taken, the inhabitants of the latter, over ten years of age, being put to death.

"Then began," says E. G. Browne in the *Literary History of Persia*, "the usual tactics of the Mongols, who were wont to gain all they could by lying promises ere they unsheathed the sword which no oath could blunt and no blood satiate."

Imam Ruknuddin Khurshah was at this time ruling over Almut and the surrounding territory. He was a man of a peaceful disposition and surrendered some of his strongholds on the understanding that the garrisons and inhabitants should be spared. He also sent his brother, Shahinshah, and a party to Halaku to discuss peace terms, but Shahinshah was put to death on some pretext and at a later date, all the Ismailis who had surrendered even including the babes in the cradles were ruthlessly slaughtered. Some of the Ismaili stalwarts were for a desperate resistance and repulsed a Mongol attack with great slaughter. But Ruknuddin Khurshah was averse to prolonging a warfare which

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would involve his followers in utter ruin and on November 19, 1256, went over to the Mongol camp. Upon this, Halaku's men broke all the solemn promises they had given to the Imam and pillaged and burnt the forts of Almut and Maymun Dizh.

After the occupation of Almut by the Mongol army, Ata Malik Juwaini who was attached to Halaku in the capacity of Secretary obtained permission from his master to select from the world-renowned library of Almut such books as he considered valuable and from the material thus secured he wrote the book, *Tarikhe Jahangushayi*, whose object was not so much to uphold truth as to glorify the reign of his royal master, Halaku.

As to the fate of Ruknuddin Khurshah, he was taken to Hamadan and at first treated well by Halaku who even got him married to a Mongol girl. But on March 19, 1257, he was sent off under escort to Karakoram to the Court of the Mongol Emperor, Mangu Khan. On the way, he was compelled to summon his officers in Kuhistan to surrender their forts which being done, the inhabitants, in spite of promises of safety, were massacred as soon as they left the shelter of the walls. Arriving at Karakoram, the Imam and his followers were treacherously killed the Mongols maintaining their notoriety for rank faithlessness.

There is another version of Imam Ruknuddin Khurshah's death which says that the Imam while crossing a bridge was taken unawares by a party of Mongols from behind and thrown into the river beneath.

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Imam Ruknuddin Khurshah had been on the throne of Almut only for a year at the time of Halaku's final invasion. But before the Fort surrendered, he had sent his eldest son, Shumsuddin Mahomed, to Persia in secrecy so that the line of *Imamat* may not be affected. Thus, while Halaku was gloating over his supposed extirpation of the Ismailis, Imam Shumsuddin Mahomed with his followers was living quietly as an embroiderer in the district of Ajarbaijan in Persia, and there were several Ismaili strongholds which never surrendered and continued to exist in spite of the Tartar rule.

The Abbasid Caliphate of Baghdad did not live long to rejoice in the fall of Almut and the Ismaili power. For, soon after, Halaku found a convenient pretext to attack Baghdad and sacked the city on February 13, 1258. Over 800,000 of the inhabitants were massacred by the enemy while the treasures, material, literary and scientific, accumulated during the centuries while Baghdad was metropolis of the vast Abbasid Empire, were either plundered or destroyed.

The ambition of the Mongol invaders appears to have been the extirpation of the Muslim power. But they only succeeded partially in it. And the irony of it was that those who remained in the conquered countries to rule, themselves became Muslims in course of time.

As for the Ismailis, "vast multitudes must have perished without doubt," says E. G. Browne, "but not all, for remnants of the sects, as I was informed by a very intelligent and observant Babi dervish of Kirman, still exist in Persia, while in India (under the name of

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"Khojas" or "Khwajas") and in Chitral (under the name of "Mullah") as well as Zinzibar, Syria, and elsewhere, they still enjoy a certain influence and importance."

For a considerable time after the fall of Almut, the Ismailis sought obscurity in order to escape the persecution not only of the Mongols but of orthodox Muslims as well.

Imam Shumsuddin Mahomed, who had escaped to Ajarbaijan with his uncle, lived as an ordinary embroider and his whereabouts were known only to the members of the family, some trusty Ismaili missionaries and the devoted *Fidawees*.

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CHAPTER VIII

Ismaili Imamat in Persia

Shumsuddin Mahomed had three sons. The eldest, Kasam Shah, succeeded to the *Imamat* after him and the younger two, Momin Shah and Kiya Shah, proceeded towards Gilan on a religious mission. Kiya Shah seems to have died without any issue as there is no further mention of his descendants in the history of the times. Momin Shah, however, established several branches of Ismaili mission round about Almut. He was popular among the local rulers and the landed aristocracy, and by his efforts many prominent people were persuaded to accept the Ismaili faith.

Mominshah's mission work was continued after him by his son, Mominshah II, and the latter's son, Raziyuddinshah. Shah Mahomed Taher, the son of the last named, who was extraordinarily proficient in religion and learning, spread Ismailism in Egypt, Bokhara, Samarkand, Kazwin and other places. He lived in the reign of Ismail Safvi.

From the time of Halaku's conquest to the beginning of the Safvi period, Persia had been subjected to constant invasions. The last of Halaku's descendants was overthrown by Timur the "Lame," and his dynasty, in turn, was replaced by the Turkomans whose family feuds in addition to the continual wars carried on by chiefs of military tribes involved the country in constant ruin and disorder.

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Shah Ismail, the founder of the Safvi dynasty traced his descent from Musa Kazim, the second son of Imam Jaffar Sadiq and the younger brother of Imam Ismail. "Almost all his ancestors were regarded as holy men and some of them as saints," says John Malcolm. "They had long been settled at Ardebil, where they lived as retired devotees. The first of this family who acquired any considerable reputation was Shaikh Suffe-u-deen from whom this dynasty takes its name of Suffaveah. He was succeeded by Sudder-u-deen, who, as well as his immediate descendants, Khaujah Aly, Juneyd, and Hyder, acquired the greatest reputation for sanctity. Contemporary monarchs, we are informed, visited the cell of Sudder-u-deen. The great Timour, when he went to see this holy man, demanded to know what favour he could confer upon him. "Release those prisoners you have brought from Turkey, "was the noble and pious request of the saint. The conqueror complied; and the grateful tribes, when they regained their liberty, declared themselves the devoted disciples of him to whom they owed it. Their children preserved sacred the obligation of their fathers; and the descendants of the captives of Timour became the supporters of the family of Suffee, and enabled the son of a devotee to ascend one of the most splendid thrones in the world."

Ismail Safvi appears from history to have been an enlightened and a catholic-minded ruler, but orthodox Shia-ism was all powerful and acted as a great check on the public propagation of the Ismaili faith. Shah Mahomed Taher, who was one of the most popular and influential Ismaili preachers of the day, soon excited

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the jealousy of the Shias and a deputation of the latter waited upon the king to demand the suppression of Ismailism.

As the king belonged to the Shia faith and had risen to power by the aid of his Shia followers, it was but natural that he should look with disfavour upon the spread of Ismailism which might revive the suppressed power of Almut. He, therefore, issued a secret order for the arrest of Shah Taher and the massacre of Ismailis. Fortunately for the Ismailis, the king's Vazier, Mirza Husein Isfahani, had embraced their faith at the hands of Shah Taher and warned the missionery of the coming fate. Shah Taher taking advantage of this information left Persia with his family in a ship bound for India and arrived at the port of Koda on the eighth day. Thence, he went to Bijapur and later, his fame reaching the ears of King Burhan Nizamshah of Ahmednagar, he was invited to that ruler's court and lived there in great honour.

Meanwhile, in Persia, Ismail Safvi seems to have changed his attitude towards the Ismailis. For, we find Imam Shah Abu Zar Ali married to a Safvi princess and his followers living a peaceful existence through his influence at court. This connection by marriage tie between the Ismaili Imam and the ruling family was to the advantage of the Ismailis as well as of the country. During the *Imamat* of Shah Murad Mirza, the son of Abu Zar Ali, Ismailis joined the Persian army in large numbers by the order of their spiritual leader and helped the king in putting down the Uzbeck revolts.

Later, Imam Shah Sayyid Ali, was made the

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governor of Kerman because of his services to the state. But the Safvi dynasty did not last long. It came to an end with the rise of Nadirkhan Kuli to power. The throne of Persia rapidly changed hands after this and in the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Kachar dynasty had been established.

During the Kachar rule, Khalilullah II, the forty-fifth Imam of the Ismailis, was living near Kehk. In 1817, he took up his abode in Yezd leading a retired life. Such was his piety and exemplary behaviour that the people had great regard for him and Fateh Ali Shah, who was then ruling over Persia, himself held him in the highest esteem. This excited the bitter jealousy of a Mullah who instigated some fanatics to murder him. The dastardly crime created quite a sensation in the country, and the faithful followers of the Imam were in no mood to tolerate it. There were, moreover, powerful relatives of the Imam among the ministers of the King and there was every fear of an open rebellion from the Ismailis to avenge the crime. Fateh Ali Shah realising the seriousness of the situation took prompt measures to allay it. He ordered the offending Mullah to be cast naked in a freezing pond there to be beaten to death with thorny sticks. He also caused severe punishment to be inflicted upon all the chief participants in the affray. He did not stop at that. He invited Hasan Ali Shah, the young son of the murdered Imam, and installed him as successor to the *Imamat*, conferring upon him large possessions in addition to those he had received in inheritance; the governorship of the district of Koom and Mehelat.

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Aga Khan, Lord of Mehellat, as the Imam was known, had yet more honours coming to him. He was taken to Court and there married to a daughter of the King. He enjoyed the confidence of King Fateh Ali Shah and was among his favoured few.

Fateh Ali Shah had a glorious reign extending from 1798 to 1834 during which Aga Mahomed Husein, the Lord of Mehelat, played not a small part both as a soldier and a diplomat. He seems to have been a very unassuming man with no love of limelight, and consequently, till the death of his father-in-law, nothing much is known of his public activities. The death of Fateh Ali Shah, however, brought about a civil war in Persia over the question of succession in which Aga Mahomed Husein had been destined to play an important role.

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CHAPTER IX

Ismaili Missionaries

It would be interesting here in pursuing the history of the Ismaili sect, to digress for a while and trace the progress of its mission work, particularly in view of the fact that it finally led to the shifting of the headquarters of the Ismaili *Imamat* to India.

"So far as we know," says O'Leary, "the first Ismaili propaganda in India took place about A.H. 460 (A.D. 1067)—about the time when Fatimid Khalifate in Egypt was just coming to the end of its flourishing period. At that time, a missionary named Abdulla came from Yemen and preached in North-West India, and is claimed as the founder of a sect known as the Bohras which is found scattered throughout many of the trading centres of the Bombay Presidency, though some attribute its foundation to a later teacher, the Mullah Ali."

These missionaries were evidently sent by Mustealli's party to carry on propaganda against the strong Ismailian sect which continued to follow Nizar as their Imam.

According to O'Leary, "the Khoja sect proper was founded by a *Dai* named Nur ad-Din who was sent from Almut about A.H. 495 (A.D. 1101) or perhaps later. Nur-ad-Din made many converts from the lower castes of Gujerat."

The dynastic dispute between Nizar and Musteali and the position of the two sects which sprang up from

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the parent body of Ismailism is well-explained by Mr. Fyzee in the introduction to his book *Al-Hidayatu'l Amiriya* (Islamic Research Association Series 7).. Says Mr. Fyzee:

"Fatimid Caliphs were not ordinary kings, but primarily religious heads of the Ismaili branch of Islam. The question of their succession was a part of their dogma, and of grave religious importance. These dogmas were firmly established in the course of over three centuries of the existence of the sect by that time. It is, therefore, not surprising that a very large proportion of the followers of the Fatimid Imams, especially in Asia, remained faithful to the first nominee, Nizar, and, after his death, to his descendants while in Egypt and the Yemen, a considerable proportion supported Musteali. The Ismaili world was then split for ever into two main groups, the Nizaris, now chiefly known in India as Khojas, and the Mustalians, now represented in India by the Bohras, Daudi and Sulaimani."

After Pir Nur-ad-Din, or Nur Satagar as he is popularly known, the next Ismaili missionary of importance is Pir Sadruddin who was Persian by birth, and who had come to India from Khorasan. He gained experience of local conditions by touring Sindh, Punjab and Kashmir and made his headquarters in the village of Kohada in Sindh. Born in A.H. 700 in the village of Sabzwar in Persia, he lived to the ripe old age of 118 and died in Uchch, a village in Bahawalpur in Punjab.

Pir Sadruddin after starting the Ismaili mission in India had set out for Persia to see the Imam of the age. Imam Islam Shah was then the head of the Ismailis, and seeing the great devotion of Sadruddin had conferred upon him the title of Pir and ordered him to conduct Ismaili mission work in India.

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Returning from Persia, Pir Sadruddin established three great jamats or communes of the Ismailis, in Punjab under Mukhi Seth Shamdas Lahori, in Kashmir under Mukhi Seth Tulsidas and in Sind under Mukhi Trikam. The first Jamat Khana or Ismaili house of prayer was built by the Pir at Kohada in Sind.

Many members of Pir Sadruddin's family had later migrated from Persia and taken up mission work in small villages and out of the way places. One of his sons, Kabirdin, was also appointed "Pir" by the Imam. Through the efforts of these missionaries, thousands of people were converted to Ismailism.

In the ninth century of Hijri, about 400 years ago, Ismailis of India used to go to Persia on a pilgrimage to the headquarters of the Imam with offerings of *Dashond* which is a part of the income set aside by every Ismaili in the name of his Imam.

In India, the converts to Ismailism were known by the name "Khoja" which is a corruption of the word "Khwaja" meaning both "the honourable or worshipped person" or the "disciple."

"Not only were the Khojas, from the first, in the habit of transmitting contributions to the Imams of the Ismailis," said Sir Joseph Arnould, Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court in 1868 in the course of his judgment in the Aga Khan case, "but it was also, from the origin, a frequent practice with them, to make pilgrimages into Persia for the sake of beholding and doing homage to these their spiritual chiefs."

Before the time of the first Aga Khan, the *jamats* or local Khoja communes were guided and looked after on behalf of the Imam by a "Pir" who mostly did the

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work of a missionary. There was sometimes appointed a "vakil" or representative of the Imam who collected the dues owing to the spiritual head from the followers and generally acted as manager sometimes combining with his office that of the missionary.

"Wherever a Khoja community is to be found, its organisation is the same: it has a *Jamat*, a *Jamatkhana*, a *Mukhi* and a *Kamaria*.

"The *Jamat* is the congregation of the people, the assembly in council of all the adult male members of the Khoja community of the place.

"The *Jamatkhana* is the council hall or guild hall of the community.

"The *Mukhi* is the treasurer or steward, and the *Kamaria*, the accountant."

This form of administration of the Khoja religious institutions went on without a hitch from the time of Pir Sadruddin but in A.D. 1829, while the first Aga Khan was still living in Persia, some Khojas of Bombay refused to pay *Dashond* or the percentage of income due to the Imam. When the news reached the Aga Khan I, he sent his mother, Mariam Khatoon with one Mirza Abul Quasim as his deputy to settle the dispute. Mariam Khatoon came to Bombay and delivered a forceful speech at the *Jamatkhana* on the duty of the Khojas. This had the desired effect and a large number of Khojas were saved from the influence of the seceders.

From Bombay, Mariam Khatoon went to Muscat and other Ismaili centres and gave the benefit of her advice to the community.

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About the year 1858 A.D. there was a split in the Muscat *Jamat*, over the question of spiritual allegiance to the Ismaili Imam. Aga Hasanali Shah, the first Aga Khan, sent Aga Jafar Khan to remove the differences, but inspite of his efforts, a certain number of Khojas seceded from the *Jamat*, some becoming "Twelvers" and others "Sunnis."

In the year 1864 A.D. the first Aga Khan having discovered that the marriage, funeral and several other religious rites of his followers were being performed by Muslims of other sects issued a circular ordering them to have these rites performed by persons of their faith. Except in Bombay, where a few Khojas were opposed to the Aga Khan's claims, the order in the circular was faithfully acted upon.

The seceders, not content to oppose, disputed the claims of the Aga Khan in the High Court of Bombay. A sensational case ensued in which the most noted legal brains were ranged on either side and the lengthy judgment of Sir Joseph Arnould, based on a mass of bulky evidence, decided once for all that the Aga Khan was the spiritual head of the Khojas and that his claims were perfectly well founded. *

Though the Ismailis were scattered far and wide on the face of the earth, and followed the teachings of their Imams, it was not until the middle of the last century that any attempt was made to establish a permanent contact with them. In A.D. 1869, the deputation under Sir Douglas Forsythe which was sent to Yarkand by Lord Mayo, the Viceroy, discovered that there were large bodies of people living in Turkistan

*See Judgment of Justice Arnould in Appendix.

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and Afghanistan who considered the Aga Khan as their spiritual head, and sent their religious dues to him through the Imam's representative in Kashmir. Numerous followers of the Aga Khan were also found in Chitral, Gilgit, the Pamirs, and the valleys of Kafiristan and Badakshan.

The present Aga Khan, Sir Sultan Mahomed Shah, since he came of age, has been visiting different parts of the world and studying the conditions of his followers with a view to bring them up as a progressive community. His efforts have succeeded to such an extent that the Ismailis of Egypt, Syria, Africa, Persia, Afghanistan and other countries are not only happy and prosperous but are living as members of a big world community taking an active and keen interest in the welfare and progress of their brethren elsewhere. The power derived from such a vast following must indeed be great. but the Aga Khan who wields it, does so not for his personal gain or glory but in the greater cause of humanity and world peace.

The Druzes of Syria are also Ismailis owing allegiance to Imam Hakim who, according to them, will appear again on earth.

H.H. Sir Sultan Mahomed Shah, the present Aga Khan, succeeded to the *Imamat* in 1885 at the age of 8 but within a few years, he had reorganised the life of the community that follows him. He has, for the better management of the Ismaili *jamats*, established local and Supreme Councils. The local councils look after the *jamats* within their jurisdiction where as the Supreme Councils exercise a supervisory authority. All these councils are not merely religious

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bodies but are charged with responsibilities for the progress and welfare of the community.

His Highness has also established free schools all over the world for the benefit of his followers' children and is maintaining them at an annual recurring expenditure of some lakhs of rupees. Besides schools, there are also dispensaries, maternity homes, child welfare centres, libraries and volunteer and scout organisations which receive from His Highness generous donations and maintenance allowances.

Through the efforts of His Highness, the Ismailis all over the world have begun to feel that they are members of one huge family with deep and abiding interests in the welfare of one another.

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CHAPTER X

The Aga Khan I.

Fateh Ali Shah, during his life-time, had passed over his eldest son, Mahomed Ali, in favour of a younger one, Abbas. Abbas died in his father's life-time, and his son, Mahomed Mirza, was nominated as the next heir to the throne. The British and Russian Governments were duly informed of this through their respective representatives at the Shah's Court and the British Minister at St. Petersburg was instructed to express to the Government of the Czar the gratification of his own Government at finding that the two powers were "acting with regard to the affairs of Persia in the same spirit...equally animated by a desire to maintain not only the tranquility but also the independence and integrity of Persia."

But on the death of the old monarch, two parties were formed at the court, one espousing the cause of the eldest son and the other of the deceased Shah's nominee. The first Aga Khan, as was to be expected, put his weight on the side of right, and it was mainly by the strength of his arms and military genius that Mahomed Mirza came on the throne. The Aga Khan, in recognition of the services he had rendered to the State, was made Commander-in-Chief of the army and sent to conquer the province of Kerman which had declared in favour of a son of Fateh Ali Shah. In this battle, the Aga Khan's success was so spectacular and his feat of arms so brilliant that he at once became

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the *beau ideal* of his soldiers and the hero of the people.

From 1834 to 1838, Aga Khan I was busy putting down disturbances, but in the latter year, a change in prime ministers was the signal for a series of court intrigues which finally resulted in his leaving Persia.

The immediate cause of rupture between the new king and the Aga Khan was the prime minister, Mirza Aghashi. The king himself had every cause to be grateful to the Aga Khan whose unstinted and sincere support was mainly instrumental in securing the throne for him. However, kings are guided more by the Prime ministers than by personal judgments, and Mirza Aghashi being an old tutor of the king wielded more influence over him than any prime minister could.

Mirza Aghashi was new to his power and could not brook the influence and power of the Aga Khan. He took every opportunity to discredit him before the king and thus sowed the seeds of ill-feeling between the two. He also deliberately insulted the son-in-law of the late king by asking his daughter in marriage for one of his proteges of low birth. The Aga Khan was put out by this affront and turned down the request.

Feelings were further embittered by the Prime Minister demanding from the Aga Khan an account of the revenues of Kerman which his predecessor had granted him in lieu of the military expedition he had led against the city at his own expense in the beginning of the reign.

After waiting patiently for justice for a long time, the Aga Khan was at last driven to desperate straits

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and had to take up arms in self-defence. As he had a large and substantial following in the country, this naturally led to a civil war. Had he chosen, he could have easily gained the throne by the strength of his arms and the support of the people of Ispahan and Iraq, many of whom were ready to support him but he wanted no more than his due. He was, moreover, loath to fight with the king for whom he had a regard. When, therefore, a promise accompanied by the holy Quaran reached him from the Prime Minister that he could live peacefully at Mehellat by surrendering, he did so only to find that he was made a prisoner through treachery. He remained in prison for a short while and was released by order of the king. The release was secured by the Aga Khan's wife, who was then living with the king, by the use of a clever ruse. Knowing the king's religious feelings, she used to dress her son as a *Dervish* and make him recite before the king Quaranic verses in praise of forgiveness. This secured for the Aga Khan the royal pardon but it did not end his troubles. Returning to Kerman, he found that he was being socially ostracised by order of the Prime Minister and had to fight even for food. This fresh provocation led him into open rebellion again, and after facing heavy odds, and finding himself out-numbered, he forced his way through the king's army and proceeded towards Afghanistan.

About the time that Aga Khan I was having trouble in Persia, the British were deeply involved in Afghan politics. Their efforts were aimed at establishing in Kabul a rule that would be friendly to Britain and prevent French influence from extending to India.

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They succeeded in placing the dethroned Shah Suja in the place of Dost Mahomed but this rule could last only for two years with the British occupation of Afghanistan. The Afghans were soon in revolt, however, and the British force had to retreat from Kabul to Jalalabad with only one survivor to tell the tale.

The Aga Khan who happened, at that time, to be in Afghanistan on his way to India helped the British with his men as well as personal influence—a fact which was recorded in the parliamentary papers of those days. Major Rawlinson, in one of his despatches dated 6th March, 1842, gives an account of this in the following words:

"The Persian Prince, Aga Khan, is still at Kandahar and General Nott, in consideration of our deficiency of cavalry, has expressed a wish that this Chief who is possessed of much military experience, and whose attachment to our interests is certain, should be entrusted with the temporary direction of such Parsewan horses as have remained true to us since the disorganisation of the Jaunbaz. Aga Khan has at present a fast cavalry under his orders, and will accompany General Nott in his projected attack upon the enemy. Were we not threatened with a deficiency of funds for our necessary expenses, I should venture to recommend that the Parsewan horse be considerably increased as well as with a view of relieving our own cavalry of the harassing duty of patrolling as to give further confidence to the Shia party and to show that we can still command the services of a not unimportant class of the Muslim population."

When General Nott withdrew his force from Kandahar at the close of the year 1842, the Aga Khan had to make his own arrangements to leave Afghanistan and reached Sind with great difficulty. Before he left, he had been given a letter of recommendation to Sir Charles Napier by MacNaghten who was then

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British envoy in Afghanistan. MacNaghten had been greatly appreciative of the unique services rendered by the Aga Khan to the British and was anxious to make suitable provision for him and his followers but he was treacherously shot near Kabul on the eve of his leaving Afghanistan to take up the Governorship of Bombay. Had MacNaghten lived, much of the Aga Khan's later difficulties in India would have been obviated.

However, to resume the thread of the narrative, the Aga Khan having arrived in Sind, placed himself and his followers at the disposal of the British. Sir Charles Napier who was then political agent in Sind readily accepted these services and his estimation of the great leader can be found in the following entry in his Diary of 29th February, 1843.

"I have sent the Persian Prince Aga Khan to Jarrack, on the right bank of the Indus. His influence is great, and he will, with his own followers secure our communication with Karachi. He is the lineal chief of Ismailians, who still exist as a sect and are spread over all the interior of Asia. He will protect our line along which many of our people have been murdered by the Baloochis."

The services rendered by the Aga Khan in Sind also proved his attachment to the British cause. He not only helped the British during the conquest but even after hostilities had ceased, he toured the disturbed areas and pacified the discontented Mirs securing their allegiance to the British. In the course of the hostilities in Sind, the Aga Khan while staying at Jarrack with a handful of his trained fighters was surprised by a Baloochi raid, and though he successfully put them to flight, his jewellery and cash valued at nearly 23 lakhs of rupees fell into their hands. His

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followers also suffered almost as big a loss. All these services and sacrifices were brought to the notice of the Governor-General by Sir Charles Napier and on a report being forwarded to England, a pension of Rs. 3,000 per month with the hereditary title of "His Highness" was sanctioned to the Aga Khan in appreciation of the assistance he had rendered to the British.

The Aga Khan however was not destined to find the peace he had sought for quite a long time, and despite his unique services to the British cause was faced with a situation which was mortifying to his dignity and family pride.

The circumstances in which the Aga Khan left Persia are too well-known to students of history to need a recapitulation. He had lost huge properties in the land of his birth owing to the treachery of the Persian Prime Minister, Mirza Agashi. Further, the Persian king Mahomed Mirza whom he had helped with men and money to gain the throne had thrown him in prison without doing justice. At the time he was compelled to leave Persia, it was his object to secure aid in Afghanistan or India and return to his country to demand what belonged to him. He had made no secret of his designs which were too well-known to the British. He had also several times asked the help of the British for carrying out his designs. Even in Kabul, MacNaghten and Rawlinson were well acquainted with his plans.

MacNaghten and Sir Charles Napier even agreed that they should have "a friendly ruler in Persia."

In the course of a letter to the Governor-General in 1843, the Aga Khan in asking for assistance to make

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an opening through Baloochistan to invade Persia, assured him that whatever conquests he made should be in alliance with the British Government.

Unfortunately for the Aga Khan, the differences between Persia and England were removed by a treaty under which Muhammad Mirza abandoned Herat and agreed to all the British demands. This gave an opportunity to the enemies of the Aga Khan to urge the enforcement of the Definitive Treaty made in 1814 according to which

"Should any Persian subject of distinction showing signs of hostility and rebellion take refuge in the British Dominions, the English Government shall, on intimation from the Persian Government, turn him out of their country, or, if he refuses to leave it, shall seize and send him to Persia.

"Previously to the arrival of such fugitive in the English territory should the Governor of the District to which he may direct his flight receive intelligence of the wishes of the Persian Government respecting him, he shall refuse admission. After such prohibition, should such person persist, cause him to be seized and sent to Persia, it being understood that the aforesaid obligations are reciprocal between the contracting parties."

The Government of India was placed on the horns of a dilemma. It could not, on the one hand, risk a breach of the friendly relationship established with Persia, and on the other, surrender to his enemies one who regardless of personal losses and risk of life, had stood by the British as a faithful ally in their greatest hour of trial. In the end, however, through the intervention of the British envoy, it was agreed that the Aga Khan should be allowed to remain in India provided he stayed at Calcutta from where he could not be a menace to the Persian Government as from Sind.

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The order to go to Calcutta came as a shock to the Aga Khan. While the Persian Government was urging his immediate departure to Calcutta, he wrote several letters of protest to the Governor-General setting forth his difficulties. He pointed out how instead of serving his own ends, he had served the interests of the British and had not only lost his men but had been plundered of a large amount of property by the enemy in Sind.

"How can you trust," he added "the accusation of any one enemy against the other? The Shah knows that as long as I am with your Government, he cannot be inimical to you or attack Herat or dismiss the British agent? What he wants is to get me away from here and then do just as he likes."

As an alternative to remaining in Sind, the Aga Khan suggested that he might be allowed to remain in Cutch where he would be close to his followers. But he was informed through the Governor of Sind that "the local Government are in this matter only carrying out the positive orders that have been sent them from England by the Secret Committee in communication with the Queen's Government."

Finding that his departure from Sind was inevitable, the Aga Khan set out for Bombay on 7th October, 1844 and arriving there informed the Governor-General that while desiring to conform to his wishes in all respects he was prevented by unavoidable circumstances from proceeding to Calcutta as he had to make provision for his followers and family. He also put two alternate plans before the Government—one to indemnify him for a monthly loss of Rs. 20,000 or to help him to proceed to Persia under

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a guarantee of British protection. Sir G. Clark, who was then Governor of Bombay was sympathetic towards the Aga Khan and wrote to the Government of India "I am very desirous of avoiding any appearance of harshly ejecting one who is commonly regarded, and I believe, with justice, to have bravely served our cause in the war." In another letter dated 23rd May, 1847, the Governor expressed his reluctance "to appear harsh towards one who had evinced signal zeal and bravery in the cause of the British Government in the field and one who from his hereditary position is held in so much reverence by a considerable portion of the native community throughout India."

After considerable reluctance and great persuasion from the Government, the Aga Khan finally left for Calcutta. The Government of India informing the Superintendent of Mysore Princes and ex-Ameers of Sind regarding his arrival wrote:

"The position in which he stands at present as regards the Persian Government makes it inexpedient to show him any marked distinction but it is the wish of the Government that he should be treated with the utmost courtesy and consideration and his comfort consulted as much as possible."

The Aga Khan's enforced stay in Calcutta was not a happy one. He was in a strange city surrounded by strangers. He resented being classed with the ex-Ameers of Sind who had been accused of conspiracy against the British. He sent memorials after memorial to the Governor-General explaining his position but with no results.

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Meanwhile, the death of Mahomed Mirza in 1848 *removed the cause of his stay* in Calcutta, and the Aga Khan addressed the Governor-General desiring facilities to return to Bombay and thence to Persia. This request was granted and he arrived in Bombay with his wife and a suite of 40 retainers on the eve of the new year 1849. So far everything went smoothly, but then again difficulties arose.

He had planned to go to Persia *via* Baluchistan and Kerman but the Bombay Government acting on the wish of the Persian Government would not permit him to do so. They desired that he should go by a prescribed route, namely, Bushire and Shiraz or Baghdad and Kermanshah. The Aga Khan at once sensed danger on this route as he was in receipt of secret information that orders had already been issued by the Persian Government to arrest him and his followers at Bunder Abbas. He, therefore, wrote to the Government of India on April 1, 1849 asking that the British Envoy at Teheran might obtain a guarantee for his safety in Persia. On being informed that Government would not take any responsibility, he again wrote saying that he would go to Persia but not of his own accord.

In June 1849, the Aga Khan addressed a long memorial to Lord Dalhousie in which he repeated his previous history and connection with the British.

"At the time I arrived in Kandahar" he wrote, "I was not altogether a stranger to the British Government. I was specially brought to the notice of the British Generals in Kandahar by Sir John McNeil and others for espousing in Persia the cause of the British Government, for which my services were specially, though indirectly, engaged. These are topics delicate for me and

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the Indian Government cannot be ignorant of the same; otherwise they might, if they think proper, refer to the records of the British Residency in Persia, and to Sir John McNeil, Colonel Shell and Major Rawlinson. Your Lordship will be pleased to bear in mind that when I arrived at Kandahar I was a free agent, and might have joined either the standard of the British Government or its enemies. Although I had but a small force with me my name and influence were by no means small in a country as strange as it was hostile to the British.

"At the time I undertook to serve the British Government at Kandahar they too well knew I was on no friendly footing with the Shah of Persia; nor was the British Government friendly to the Shah; my services on that account were more valuable to the British Government. My name and position in that country imparted not a little terror into the heart of the enemies. I had posts of no inconsiderable importance confided in me by the British Generals. It was I, with my personal escort, who protected the property of the British Army."

But the memorial could not move the Government of India from its attitude which was evidently dictated from the home Government. However, Lord Palmerston, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who had been made acquainted with the facts regarding the Aga Khan and his services to the British, took a different view of the case. Consequently, in 1851, owing to Lord Palmerston's initiative, the position of the Aga Khan was made clear and the Government of India was informed definitely that the Aga Khan could not be given up to the Persian Government unless he voluntarily quitted India and that the pension which was granted to him for his services to the Government should be continued.

Thus, at last, was the Aga Khan allowed to settle down peacefully in Bombay. It was not a life after

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his heart. A brave and courageous soldier and leader of men, he was always ready to help the British whenever there was trouble on the Frontier or elsewhere. During the mutiny, he rendered great services to the Government both personally and through the large number of followers he had all over the country.

Though he reconciled himself to his new condition, the loss of his vast possessions in Persia must have weighed heavily on him. It was his cherished ambition to return to his native land and re-establish himself in power but circumstances having come in his way, he boldly faced the inevitable and devoted the last thirty years of his life to the uplift of the Ismaili Community in India.

One of Aga Hasan Ali Shah's great passion in life was horses. He had in his stables some of the best breeds of Arabia. His fondness for horses made him one of the prominent supporters of the Turf. There are many cups won by him on the race-course which are still preserved in the family as precious heirloom.

The Duke of Edinburgh and King Edward VII, as Prince of Wales, had visited the Aga Khan at his residence during their visit to India. It was an honour which, with the exception of the leading ruling princes, was accorded to no other noble man and was an acknowledgment of his princely birth and the great and loyal services he had rendered to the British Government.

The life of Hasan Ali Shah was one of strange vicissitudes, of bright periods and gloomy, of victories and reverses, of hopes and disappointments. But he faced them all with singular courage. Even after his

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position had been made secure in India by the definite instructions of the British Foreign Office, he had to face troubles from unexpected quarters. There were among his followers a handful of men who refused to acknowledge him as their religious head and tried to withhold from him the properties dedicated to him by his pious and devout followers. These "seceders" contended that Pir Sadruddin who was responsible for the conversion of the Khojahs from their Hindu fold was a Muslim of *Sunni* persuasion and, therefore, the Khojahs converted by him and their descendants could not be considered Shia Imami Ismailis. The contention which started with religious dues and properties held in trust for the Spiritual Head of the community had its sequel in the Bombay High Court in what is popularly known as the "Khojah Case."

Sir Joseph Arnould, then Chief Judge, tried the case and the best advocates available were briefed on both sides. Neither the plaintiffs nor the defendants spared expense in procuring and marshalling evidence, which was valuable from the view point of the historian, the research scholar, the theologian and the student of philosophy. Sir Joseph Arnould had indeed a hard task sifting the evidence, separating facts from a lot of legal chaff. The result was a lengthy and well argued judgment which decided, once for all, that the Khoja Community "is a sect of people whose ancestors were Hindu in original, which was converted to, and has throughout abided in, the faith of the Shia Imamee Ismailis, which has always been and still is bound by ties of spiritual allegiance to the hereditary Imams of Ismailis."

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As a result of this judgment, the rights of the Aga Khan as the Spiritual Head of the Shia Imami Ismailis were firmly and legally established much to the discomfiture of a few discontented persons.

Aga Hasan Ali Shah died, full of years and honours, in April 1881 leaving three sons—Aga Ali Shah who succeeded to the *Imamat* of his father, Aga Jangi Shah and Aga Akbar Shah. The last resting place of this great Persian nobleman, warrior, statesman, sportsman and spiritual leader, called Hasnabad after him, is at Mazgaon, Bombay, where his followers have erected a mausoleum which is being visited to this day by thousands of Ismailis.

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CHAPTER XI

The Aga Khan II

Aga Ali Shah was with his mother, the Persian Princess, at Kerbala when Hasan Ali Shah, his father, was forced by the intrigues at court to leave Persia.

Aga Ali Shah had inherited from his noble father the spirit of daring and adventure and spent many years of his youth between Kerbala and Bagdad hunting in the company of Prince Zillu Sultan, the eldest son of King Fatch Ali Shah, and other exiled Princes.

It may be mentioned here that after the death of his father, Zillu Sultan sat on the throne for forty days and had to flee when his younger brother, Mahomed Ali Shah, chiefly supported by the Aga Khan, declared himself sovereign.

It was, therefore, a strange irony of fate that Mahomed Ali Shah having come on the throne should send into exile his best friend and supporter, the Aga Khan, and that the Aga Khan's son should pass his days in the friendship and company of Zillu Sultan whom his own father had prevented from coming to the throne.

It appears from historic records that though Zillu Sultan was the eldest prince at the time of his father's death, his claim had lost all force by the will of Fateh Ali Shah who had named another son, Abbas, as his successor; Abbas having died in his father's life-time, his son Mahomed Ali Shah, naturally became the

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claimant to the throne, and it was out of respect to his father-in-law's wish that Hasan Ali Shah had stood by him and given him all the support he could.

Aga Ali Shah was married to the daughter of an Irqui tribal chief and had two sons by her, Badin Shah and Noorshah.

When Hasan Ali Shah took up his permanent residence in India, he sent for his son, Aga Ali Shah and his family. Under his father's guidance, and the teaching of learned and pious *Mullahs* who were specially brought from Persia and Arabia, Aga Ali Shah received perfect training for the onerous task that lay ahead of him as his father's successor. He was so intelligent and quick of understanding that within a very short time, he made rapid progress in Oriental languages and was considered an authority on Arabic and Persian literature. His favourite subjects were ethics and metaphysics and had it not been for the numerous duties both religious and of social welfare which left him no spare time, he might have left behind some lasting mark of his great learning.

During the life time of his father, Aga Ali Shah had earned reputation as a "Pir" or spiritual man and had a large following of his own. His interest was not confined, however, only to religion. He was the President of the Mahomedan National Association till his death and rendered great and valuable service to the Muslim community. He was also, for some time, additional member of the Bombay Council for making laws and regulations.

As regards the followers of his father, he spared no pains to raise them in social life and freely helped

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the destitute Khojas. It was also by his initiative that a school for Khoja children was opened in Bombay.

Aga Ali Shah was a splendid sportsman and a skilful rider. His was an adventurous spirit, and when he went to the jungles a-hunting, he never made use of *Machans* or shelters in trees but always shot his tigers standing on the ground with a sure and steady aim. He had bagged in this way no less than forty tigers.

After coming to India, Aga Shah lost his first wife and married the daughter of a Shirazi family settled in Bombay. After the death of the second wife, he married Nawab 'Alia Shumsulmuluk, the daughter of Nizamuddowla, a noted Persian scholar, philosopher, diplomat and statesman who was prime minister to King Fateh Ali Shah. Of this marriage was born Sir Sultan Mahomed Shah, the present Aga Khan.

Aga Ali Shah's two sons by his first wife died in his life-time. Shah Badinshah died at the age of 33 of chest disease and his younger brother aged 30, who was a good sportsman fell from his horse while riding and sustained serious injuries which proved fatal. These two deaths, coming one after the other filled Aga Ali Shah's mind with sorrow and about nine months later, he died in Poona in 1885.

When Aga Ali Shah, the second Aga Khan died, his sole heir and successor to the *Imamat*, the present Aga Khan, was not even fully eight years old. To be deprived of an experienced, loving and estimable father is a calamity in itself but to have to bear at the same time the responsibilities of a large and prominent family and the active leadership of a community several millions strong would have caused despair

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to the greatest among grown-up men. But the eight year old Aga Khan faced the situation with great credit, an achievement in which he had the guidance of a loving and capable mother. Looking back upon that time in later years, His Highness has gratefully acknowledged that he had "the inestimable and, in the circumstances, essential advantage of receiving the fostering care of a gifted and far-seeing mother."

To understand the full significance of those words, one has to study the life of Lady Aly Shah, the mother of the Aga Khan.

Lady Aly Shah, whose maiden name was Nawabalia Shumsul-muluk, was the daughter of Mirza Ali Mahomed Khan Nizam-ud-Dowlah, Prime Minister to Fateh Ali Shah, the greatest of Persian monarchs of the Kajjar dynasty. Nizamuddowlah, besides being a statesman and a diplomat, was a reputed scholar and philosopher whose name ranks high in the galaxy of Persian men of letters.

The mother of Lady Ali Shah, Khurshid Kulah, was the daughter of King Fateh Ali Shah through one of his queens, Tajudowlah by name. Lady Aly Shah was thus related to the Persian royal family through her mother.

Queen Tajuddowlah was educated under the guidance of Motamiddowlah Abdul Wahab Khan Nishat Ispahani, a noted scholar of her time and her daughter and grand-daughter were equally recipients of a select and high education as befitted the ladies of their rank.

Nawabalia Shumsul-muluk was married at Kerman to His Highness Aga Ali Shah in 1867. She was then 24 years old. Later, she came to India with

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her husband and while living at Karachi gave birth to His Highness Sir Sultan Mahomed Shah in "Honeymoon Lodge," a charming residence on the top of a hillock, not far from the Clifton race-course.

Eight years after that happy event, on August 17th, 1885, she was stricken with grief at the death of her dear husband, but submitting to the divine will, devoted her life to the education and up-bringing of her young son who had succeeded to a great inheritance and heavy responsibilities. She immediately took in hand his training and under the guidance of able tutors gave him a liberal education including knowledge of all that was best in oriental and Western literature.

Skilled in political science and statesmanship herself, Lady Ali Shah trained her son in the great traditions of the family and rejoiced to see him growing up to her expectations with love for peace, a heart for generosity and courage for self-sacrifices. The seeds of virtue which she had sown in his tender and responsive mind sprouted into good deeds before he was out of his teens.

When His Highness was hardly 19 years old, public life claimed his attention. His inborn virtues and talents fostered by a careful training impressed all those who came in contact with him. Before long, he was the accepted leader of a vast public and his life became one of constant travelling.

In 1896, His Highness, the Aga Khan went to England for the first time, and since then his association with Western life increased and he continued to remain away from India over longer periods. Lady Aly Shah, as a mother felt the pangs of this separation

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and once said to her son: "Death is inevitable, but if it comes to me in your absence, it will be unendurable." The reply of the Aga Khan was a remarkable one. "Do not worry" he had said. "You will breathe your last with your head on my lap." The words were to prove prophetic for decades after they had been uttered.

Lady Aly Shah was a brave mother and a born leader. While her son had to remain in Europe for long periods working for his country, his community and the world in general, Lady Aly Shah used to help the leaders of the Jamat in their administrative duties by her advice and guidance. Many a time she was called upon to settle difficulties and problems of the Ismailis and did so to the satisfaction of all.

She was like a loving mother to the Ismailis who sought guidance, inspiration and help in times of difficulty, and many were the people who visited her daily seeking her advice on diverse matters such as domestic, business, communal and health. Ismailis not only of India but from distant parts of the world such as Pamir, Lebanon, Syria, Central Asia, Chinese Turkistan and Afghanistan came to see her and were looked after at her own expense till their affairs were settled. So keenly was she interested in the welfare of the Ismaili Jamat that whenever anyone connected with it went to see her, her first inquiry was invariably "How is the *Jamat?*" Good news of the Jamat gave her pleasure. Bad news pained her.

Lady Aly Shah's was a dynamic personality which made itself felt wherever she went. She was intensely pious and spent most of her time in prayers or discussions of holy matters. Though belonging to the older

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generation and school of thought, she was liberal in her views and adaptive in her ways. In 1896, when the plague broke out in Bombay and orthodox public opinion was opposed to the innoculation of anti-plague serum, she allowed her only darling son to submit himself to the treatment as an example to others, thus breaking down the barrier of public antipathy to medical reform.

The popularity of Lady Aly Shah was not confined only to the followers of her son. She had among her friends and admirers peoples of different sects, creeds and communities who greatly loved and respected her. There were even Viceroys and Governors among her esteemed friends. During the last Great War while His Highness the Aga Khan was helping the cause of the Allies in Europe, Lady Ali Shah placed her services at the disposal of Government and under her directions Khoja and Persian ladies rendered great service to the wounded soldiers in Mesopotamia and other war-fronts, and large funds and supplies were collected for the help of the fighting ranks. Indeed, her loyalty to the cause of Justice and liberty was so great that even when Turkey joined the enemy, her enthusiasm was unabated and she made frequent appeals not only to the Muslims but to the whole country to support the Allies. She maintained a regular correspondence with prominent people in Persia and induced them to support the British. At her instance, her nephews and relatives fought on the side of the Allies and rendered valuable diplomatic service. At a meeting of the Women's Council of the Bombay War Relief Fund in August 1915, she exhorted the womanhood of India to rise to

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the occasion and do all that lay in their power to help the Empire which was engaged in the most stupendous conflict in the history of the world.

A great Persian scholar, well-versed in Oriental history and religious lore, Lady Aly Shah was respected not only in India but throughout the Muslim world. A kind-hearted and generous lady, her charitable instincts knew no distinctions. The poor and the needy who approached her never returned disappointed.

In the course of an intimate sketch of her life, the *Daily Mail* of London published the following description of her, only a few days before her death.

"For all her burden of years, she is still one of the most vital personalities in India; clear thinking, forthright, imperious—a strict warden of the Past, who sees little that is worthy or desirable in the fruits of the Present.

"I do not mingle with the world of to-day—but I am not ignorant of it," she has often said.

"Her physical vitality has been as remarkable as her strength of mind.

"In her home she wears always the silken trousers and soft draperies such as the women of Persia wore centuries ago.

"And although that home is a palace famed for its splendour, her way of life has been as simple as that of the humblest of the Prophet's followers.

"Her fare is frugal, her drink water. She fasts."

Lady Aly Shah was a great traveller. She had travelled extensively in Europe, Arabia, Syria and

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visited the various holy places of Islam, spending her money lavishly on deserving charities.

In 1932, when she had visited England, large crowds of people had come out to see "the mother of a great and distinguished man". She had been received in audience by His Late Majesty King George V and Queen Mary at the Buckingham Palace and one of the coveted of honours, the title of the Imperial Order of the Crown of India, was bestowed on her. She was also the recipient of the Jubilee Medal at the time of the King's Silver Jubilee.

In 1935, when the Aga Khan was weighed in gold in Bombay in commemoration of the Golden Jubilee of his accession to the throne of *Imamat*, Lady Aly Shah witnessed the proceedings with a mother's pride. She was 92 years old then and though full of spirit, the burden of years was telling upon her strength. The end of 1937 found her very weak and frail and the reports of her health had brought Prince and Princess Aly Khan and the Aga Khan hurrying to her bedside. Under expert medical treatment she rallied, for a while, however, and left for Mesopotamia on Jan. 27th, 1938 arriving at Baghdad on February 4th. Before her departure from Karachi, the Aga Khan who had gone to Aligarh to attend the convocation of the Muslim University as pro-chancellor and who had received a rousing reception there, had ordered all the floral tributes offered to him to be taken immediately to his mother. It was indeed a singular action and one full of significance. His Highness who had dedicated his book *India In Transition* as a token of gratitude to his mother paid to his mother the tribute of a grateful son.

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While Lady Aly Shah had travelled to Basra by sea, His Highness, after filling his many engagements had gone there by air and made the neccessary arrangements for her comfortable landing. He had then proceeded to Cairo. Meanwhile, however, Lady Aly Shah having arrived at Baghdad, had wired to him about her arrival. His Highness thereupon had flown to Bagdad and had arrived only to see his mother growing worse. Two hours after his arrival, the grand old lady had breathed her last in the lap of her son.

Lady Aly Shah departed this life peacefully at 5.15 on February 5th, and on the following evening was laid to rest at Najaf, next to the tomb of her husband, Aga Aly Shah. The funeral was attended by thousands of Muslims who paid their last tribute to a grand old Lady who had endeared herself with everyone who came in contact with her. The news of her passing away was received in India with great sorrow by the Ismailis and other Muslims. References to her death were made in the meeting of the Bombay Municipal Corporation on February 7 by several members and the House adjourned, as a mark of respect to her memory, without transacting any business.

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CHAPTER XII

H.H. Sir Sultan Mahomed Shah

The Aga Khan III

His Highness Sir Sultan Mahomed Shah, the present Aga Khan, was born on Friday, 2nd November, 1877 at "Honeymoon Lodge" at Karachi, which place has since assumed historic importance for many travellers.

As a child, almost from his second year, the Aga Khan took a keen interest in various games. He also showed an extraordinary fondness for animals and was in the habit of feeding deer, stags, and ponies in his home park, sometimes leading them around with a string round their necks. He also used to take great pleasure in riding a wooden horse—a passion which in later life, led to his possession of some of the finest breeds in the world.

When he was hardly five years old, his grandfather, Aga Hasanali Shah died, and he lost his father before completing the eighth year.

The death of Aga Ali Shah not only deprived the Aga Khan of the guidance and protection of a father but imposed on him, at that tender age, the great responsibilities of *Imamat*. That he was equal to the task has been proved by the course of events since then.

At a period of life when even the most precocious of children are at play or attending primary schools, the Aga Khan used to sit on the throne of *Imamat* and

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administer the affairs of his followers with a maturity of wisdom which was surprising for one of his tender years. There are many of the older generation who to this day love to relate how the Aga Khan, when first placed on the throne of his father, noted the sadness in the faces of those around him and said: "Why are you sad? The Imam is sitting in your midst and doing your work."

It is indeed remarkable that the Aga Khan who is reckoned today as the finest exponent of Islamic religion and culture, a linguist who can talk fluently in several oriental and European languages, an international statesman who has at his finger tips the history of political and economic conditions of every great nation in the world did not attend any school or college.

His earlier education was at the hands of his mother who gave him a sound training first in Urdu, Arabic and Persian and later in English and French. His father who was very fond of his only surviving son had taught him the history of Persia and roused in him an interest for the works of its great poets—an interest which extended in later years to the study of Oriental literature.

While his studies in Persian and Arabic were progressing his devoted mother, Lady Ali Shah, recognising with great wisdom the need for giving her son the benefits of modern education placed him under English tutors. Among the books which the young Aga Khan read in his earlier years and which must have contributed not a little to the moulding of his

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coming life were the histories of Persia, England and India, Hunter's "Rulers of India" series, "The Queen's Prime Ministers," McCarthy's "History of Our Own Times" and "Lives of Eminent Men."

Recalling his course of studies the Aga Khan in a chapter of an autobiography under the heading: "In the Days of My Youth" written in 1903 said:

"I had already been grounded in Arabic and Persian literature and history, and first inspired thereto in childhood, to this day I take a special interest in historical studies connected with the early Caliphs. Under my English tutors, I gained an attachment, which also remains with me, to the writings of the more stirring and eloquent of the English historians and of the foremost novelists—particularly Gibbon, Thackeray and Dickens."

The bent of the Aga Khan's mind, on the authority of those who know him, is not towards the lighter side of literature and his pet subjects are known to be History, Biography, Philosophy and Theology in all of which he seems to have attained a very high standard of efficiency.

In spite of his absorption in art and learning, the Aga Khan has been an extraordinarily practical man. While enriching his own mind, he was contributing to the knowledge of his followers by personally teaching them the tenets of their religion from the time he succeeded to the *Imamat*.

Along with his private studies, he also developed a taste for outdoor games and sports which was stimulated to no small degree by the popular Governor,

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Lord Harris, from whom as from his immediate predecessors and successors he had received unvarying kindness and consideration.

Riding was a passion with this young noble man who had inherited it from his father and grandfather and a long line of ancestors who were most of them noted for skilful riding. In and about Poona, he was often seen taking his daily exercise on horse-back to which he added the exhilarating pastime of cycling when these machines were first introduced to this country. When he went to England in the beginning of this century, motors had just made their appearance. The Aga Khan had some very pleasant experiences in these new vehicles and decided to acquire some for his own use in India.

Long before he was fifteen the Aga Khan had proved himself an able administrator of the affairs of his vast following. He attended the Jamatkhanas or prayer halls of the community regularly and decided the caste-disputes with a legal acumen which is seldom found in those who are not lawyers.

Free from bigotry and false pride, he worked hard for the uplift of his followers. Himself a pious man, punctual in prayers and regular in his reading of the Quaran, his exhortations to his followers to lead a pure and blameless life had great effect.

Not content merely to lead the Ismailis in religious matters, the Aga Khan worked diligently for their moral and material welfare with the result that in the course of only five decades, Ismailis, encouraged by their leader's advice and support, have ventured forth

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in the world and made fortunes earning for the community a reputation for being one of the most progressive in the country.

But his great qualities of leadership were to prove useful not only to his followers but also to India at large. It was not, however, till his sixteenth year that he first came to light as an able leader with considerable foresight. On the 11th of August, 1893, the Hindus and Muslims of Bombay who were till then living as peaceful citizens became involved in the first great communal riot over an incident of cow-slaughter. Indiscriminate murders were committed in the city and two Mahommedan servants of the Aga Khan were killed within the gates of his residence at Mazagon. In spite of this provocation, the Aga Khan who was then in Poona, wired immediately to the Muslim leaders and his leading followers in Bombay to stop hostilities and help the authorities in quelling the riots. His followers acting upon these instructions not only stopped hostilities but actually gave shelter to unprotected Hindus and rendered them every help.

Four years after the riots, there was an unprecedented famine in the Bombay Presidency and farmers and middle-class people were faced with a terrible death. There are many people still who remember the horrors of the calamity with a shudder. At that time, again, the Aga Khan rose to the occasion and organised and maintained, at his own expense, relief camps in Bombay and other famine centres where thousands of people were fed irrespective of caste, creed or race. Those who were ashamed, by reason of birth or social status, to avail themselves openly of this generous help,

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were considerately provided with grains and the necessaries of life at their own homes. When the famine subsided, the Aga Khan again came to the rescue of the impoverished cultivators and distributed seeds, grains and agricultural implements among them beside subscribing huge sums to the famine fund inaugurated by the Government. This help to the famine-stricken continued for months and as further aid, the building of the Yerowda palace was undertaken in Poona to provide employment for thousands of unemployed people.

While the famine was devastating various parts of the Presidency, plague, that most dreadful scourge, broke out in Bombay with an appalling virulence carrying thousands of people to the grave. To stem the tide of this fell disease, Professor Haffkine, a well-known bacteriologist, was sent to Bombay by the Government of India. He prepared an anti-plague serum the use of which would have considerably reduced the incidence of mortality. But the people looked upon it with suspicion and raised a hue and cry against inoculation condemning it as a slow but sure poison. The followers of the Aga Khan, a majority of whom lived in the worst affected parts of the town, were also equally opposed to the treatment of doctors. It was at this time that the Aga Khan came forward, and realising the need for allaying public suspicion, set a bold example by trying the serum personally and ordering his followers to do the same. He also called a meeting of his followers and explained to them the benefits of inoculation. He was himself inoculated several times —an example which removed the last trace of suspicion from the public mind.

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All this had the desired effect, and the barrier of opposition removed, there was a great rush of people for the treatment. To meet the requirements of this rush, he lent his bungalow free to Dr. Haffkine for his laboratory and this made it possible for the anti-plague serum to be prepared on a large and adequate scale. These services rendered by him in a spirit of self-sacrifice and great personal inconvenience were duly recognised by the British Government which appreciatively conferred on him the title of Knight Commander of the Indian Empire.

The year 1897 is memorable for the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria which was celebrated throughout the Empire. Bombay also decided to celebrate the great occasion and His Highness the Aga Khan was selected by the citizens to lead in the matter. A huge public meeting was held at Muzaffarabad which was addressed by the Aga Khan whose speech had the effect of raising a large amount to which he himself had made a big contribution. Thereafter, the citizens deciding to present an address to Queen Victoria, His Highness was selected as the representative of the people to take the address to Lord Elgin, the Viceroy. Accordingly, His Highness went to Simla and while there remained as a guest of the Viceroy. His Highness also sent an address to the Queen on behalf of his numerous followers, which was encased in a beautiful casket of gold, the product of excellent local workmanship. Her Majesty appreciated the valuable gift and thanked His Highness no less for it than for the loyal sentiments contained in the address.

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In the same year, the Aga Khan was married to Shahzadi Begum, the daughter of his uncle, Jangi Shah. The marriage which took place in Poona was attended by over 30,000 people, a large number of whom had come from Asia Minor, Africa, Burma and different parts of India.

In 1898, His Highness the Aga Khan, who was then 21 years old, set out on his first visit to the West. He had travelled all over India by then and it was his great desire to see Europe and get acquainted with the civilization and people of that Continent. On the eve of his departure from Bombay he was entertained at a grand party given by his friends and admirers prominent among whom were Sir Jamshedji Jeejeebhoy, Sir Dinshaw Petit, Sir George Cotton and a host of the elite of the city.

Arrived in London, the Aga Khan, whose reputation had travelled before him, met with a hearty reception from Lord Salisbury, Prime Minister of England, Lord George Hamilton, Secretary of State for India and other leading peers of the realm, including the Duke of Connaught.

Queen Victoria for whom the young Aga Khan had a profound veneration and whom he likened to the world-renowned Persian King, Nosherwan, the just, honoured him with a private audience and the title of K.C.I.E. in recognition of his valuable services to the State during riots, famine and plague in India. The Aga Khan is the only Indian who has received a distinction of this kind at his age. But there were still many more honours coming to him. He was later invited by

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Her Majesty to dine and stay for a day at the Windsor Castle—a distinction which speaks highly for the Aga Khan's worth when he had just begun his public life.

After this his first visit abroad, the Aga Khan's association with foreign countries expanded. In 1899 he visited various places in Zanzibar studying the conditions of his followers over there.

When he went to Europe a second time, the Aga Khan visited Germany and was granted several interviews by the Emperor who further conferred upon him titles which are only intended for very high personages of distinction. The Aga Khan, practical man that he was, was not, however, content with the honours but secured from the Emperor special protection and concessions for his followers in German colonies in Africa which have resulted in thousands of Ismailis settling down there with vast business connections and a thriving trade. As a result of his intercession with the German Emperor, the Ismailis in German East-Africa got valuable concessions of rice-growing land on the bank of the river Ufigi which yielded three crops in a year, and this removed the necessity for importing rice from Burma at a great cost.

The Aga Khan had also been to France where he met His Majesty the Shah of Persia (who later on had to abdicate and retire into exile) and stayed as his guest for a fortnight at Ostend. The Zoroastrians of Persia in those days were in a pitiable condition. They were looked upon as infidels and often forced to embrace Islam to escape persecution. The Mullahs were in power and often the properties

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and trades of the Zoroastrians were taxed to the utmost capacity. The *Jazia* or the Capitation Tax was another burden upon the persecuted people who far from getting any benefit or relief from the Government had to pay through the nose in order to be left in peace. The Aga Khan had heard of their plight and though their fate did not concern him, he took up their cause as a humanitarian and interceded with the King on their behalf. He did not stop with this but finding that the Zoroastrians of Persia were denied the blessings of education, established and maintained a number of schools at his own expense for their benefit.

During this voyage, the Aga Khan had also visited Constantinople, the capital of Turkey, and had been a guest of the Sultan. This meeting of the two had been a matter of wonder to the whole Islamic world. It was like the Archbishop of Canterbury meeting the Pope. For, while Sultan Abdul Hamid was the Caliph of the Sunni Muslims the Aga Khan was the Imam of a Shia Sect—two large Muslim groups that were kept apart by superficial differences of opinion. Though what transpired at their meeting is still a matter of conjecture, the Sultan had honoured the Aga Khan with the "Star of Turkey."

The Aga Khan had also met the Shah of Persia when he visited that country and had been honoured with the title of "Shumsul Humayun" or "Star of Persia." The Aga Khan had again taken advantage of this meeting to intercede with the Shah on behalf of the Zoroastrians who were suffering great hardships in that country and had received expressions of gratitude from their co-religionists in Bombay.

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His Highness while travelling through Africa had visited Zanzibar and received from the Sultan the decoration of the "Brilliant Star of Zanzibar."

It was while in Germany that the Aga Khan received with profound grief the sad news of Queen Victoria's death. He immediately left for England to attend the royal funeral and placed a beautiful wreath over the coffin. He also called his followers in India to observe mourning which they did suspending their business for three days and saying prayers for the dead in the Jamatkhanas.

Soon after, he left for India and on landing at Bombay was given a rousing reception by his followers, friends and admirers from different communities. An entertainment had been arranged in his honour that same evening but it was abandoned at his express wish owing to a tragic sectarian incident resulting in the deaths of three persons.

The incident itself arose out of the fanatical enthusiasm of Ismaili youths who murdered three persons who had seceded from the community and joined the sect opposed to the Aga Khan. If they had thought that they would please their leader by this dastardly act, they were soon to be disillusioned. The Aga Khan immediately outcasted the fanatical murderers and ordered his followers to hold no intercourse with them. He even denied them burial in the Khoja cemetery. He spoke his mind even more emphatically at the Jamatkhana and told them in unequivocal language that those who respected law and order were his friends, but he declined to hold any communion with trouble-makers.

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He also solemnly declared that in future, if any one again dared to raise his hand against any members of his or the opposite party for the sake of religious difference, and repeat such a foul and heinous deed, he would renounce his leadership and have nothing more to do with them.

This masterly action of the Aga Khan wrung admiration even from the seceders who could not but appreciate his resolve to sacrifice his leadership for the cause of peace and true Islam.

The Coronation of King Edward VII took the Aga Khan a third time to England. His Highness was one of the very few who had been invited by the King himself and was further fortunate in being granted a private audience by him on three different occasions.

The Aga Khan before leaving India had taken with him several addresses, his followers in different parts of the world had given him, for presentation to the new king. These were encased in a casket which was specially made to his order in London at a cost of £1,000.

During his previous visits to Europe, the Aga Khan had become a remarkably prominent figure in social and political circles. And when he went for the Coronation, he was not only invited to several state functions and dinners but received the exceptional attention of the British peerage.

It was not long before the Aga Khan by his charming manners, cultured ways and nobility of heart not only won the hearts of the English but became

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lionised everywhere. He was considered such an important person that his movements were constantly reported by Reuter and his views much sought after by the political and other societies in England. In fact, it would be no exaggeration to say that he overshadowed many of the Indian princes who were in England at that time.

On the occasion of the Coronation, the Aga Khan was created a G.C.I.E.

The Aga Khan had a special audience with the Prince and Princess of Wales and was invited by Her Royal Highness to accompany her on the following day to the Review held by the Prince of Wales.

The Aga Khan's visit to the House of Commons was an event which received great attention in the British Press. His Highness was introduced to the House by Sir Muncherjee Bhownagree and was subsequently introduced to several of His Majesty's ministers and other leading members. The *Irish Times* published the following account of the occasion.

"The House of Commons had a most distinguished and interesting visitor in the person of His Highness Sir Sultan Mahomed Shah the Aga Khan, nephew of the Shah and head of the Shia branch of the Mahomedans who predominate in Persia and to a large extent on our North-Western Frontier of India. His Highness is a young man of extremely engaging manners, and having been a frequent visitor to this country has won the friendship of the King and other members of the Royal Family. He is a zealous and generous promoter of enlightenment and good works in India and other parts of the world, and his influence has been highly valuable in securing the

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alliance to the King-Emperor of some of the wild tribes on the North-Western Frontier of India."

Since 1902, the Aga Khan began to take an active interest in Indian politics. It was due to his efforts that the All-India Muslim League came into existence in 1906 and the Aligarh University was founded in 1910.

During the war, His Highness rendered great services to the cause for which the Empire stood. When the war ended, and Turkey was being partitioned among the European powers, the Aga Khan stood up as an uncompromising champion of justice and righteousness and volunteered even to defend the Turks against the Greeks with his personal resources.

In post-war politics, His Highness has played a more important part than any Indian or European. As an Indian delegate to the League of Nations and later as the president of the League, he helped the cause of international peace.

With all his thousand and one world activities, the Aga Khan has found time for an ideal domestic life. He has married thrice, has two sons, Prince Aly Khan and Prince Sadruddin, and two grandsons Princes Karim Aga and Amyn Mohamed.

The Aga Khan's first marriage was with his uncle's daughter in 1898. In 1908, he married Signorina Therese Magliano, an Italian lady. The marriage took place in Egypt according to Muslim rites. There were two sons by this marriage. The first died in infancy. The second, Prince Aly Khan, is now the heir-apparent. Princess Therese died in December 1926 in a nursing home in Paris.

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In 1929, the Aga Khan married Mlle. Andree Carron, a French lady. A son was born of this marriage in January 1933 and was named Sadruddin.

The year 1936 will always remain memorable in Ismaili history as that of the Golden Jubilee celebrations of the Aga Khan.

The actual celebrations came off on 19th January but for several preceding weeks, there was intense activity in the community all over India and in other countries where there were Ismailis.

Bombay, being the seat of the *Imamat*, undertook the lion's share of the task. One of the important items in the golden jubilee programme was the weighing of the Aga Khan in gold. An all-India Committee had been formed for this purpose in Bombay which collected the money received from His Highness' followers in different centres.

The arrival of the Aga Khan was the signal for the beginning of the festivities. The Ismaili localities in Bombay were decorated with flags and buntings and illuminated at night with multi-coloured lights.

It was altogether an unique occasion. Exactly at 10.35 a.m. on the 19th His Highness and the Begum Aga Khan arrived at Hasnabad to receive one of the most spectacular ovations from a crowd of over 30,000 Ismailis. Every inch of space in the vast Hasnabad grounds was taken up and those who could not get even standing room inside lined the roads and streets nearby.

A large posse of police in close co-operation with the Ismaili volunteers regulated the traffic.

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On the *dais* which was specially arranged for the occasion, the Aga Khan sat on a throne embroidered in real gold with the coat of arms of his family. To his right sat Lady Aly Shah who had arrived earlier, the proud mother of an illustrious son, and on his left was the Begum Aga Khan.

Among the special guests who attended were leading Government officials, judges of the High Court, foreign consuls, business magnates, and the *elite* of the city.

The Aga Khan was dressed in a purple robe with a great turban, with all the decorations and insignia glittering on his breast.

Before the weighing ceremony started, Mr. Gulamali Merchant, as Vice-President of the All-India Golden Jubilee Committee, requested His Highness for permission to weigh him in gold and "to accept the gold so weighed as an humble token of our love, devotion and gratitude to your Highness for all the unbounded bounty and benefits that Your Highness' followers have derived during Your Highness' *Imamat* for the last 50 years."

The Aga Khan then stepped into the scales which were painted a gold colour and were covered with rich cushions. His weight was 9,500 tolas of gold costing three lakhs and thirty-five thousand rupees.

The Aga Khan, replying to the address, said:

"I accept with great pleasure the gold my dear spiritual children have offered me and give them my loving and paternal spiritual blessings.

"I have decided to use the gold for the uplift of the spiritual children and appoint Mr. Gulamali G. Merchant, Mr. Rahimtoola

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M. Chinoy, Mr. Cassamally Manji Nathoo, Mr. Ali Mahomed R. Mecklai and Mr. Ismail M. Jaffer to devise the best means of applying not only the income of this gold but the corpus also for intensive uplift work amongst my spiritual children, particularly by way of all kinds of scholarships, relief by emigration from congested districts, infant welfare and other beneficial work."

After His Highness had taken his seat, the following cable from His Majesty the King Emperor to the Aga Khan was read to the audience. His Majesty at that time was lying ill and had instructed his private Secretary to send the message which read.

"Before his illness the King informed me of his intention to send His Majesty's warmest congratulations on your Golden Jubilee and every good wish for the future"—Wigram.

The Aga Khan, then, addressing his followers, said:

"Owing to the serious illness of His Majesty the King-Emperor, I have restricted the celebration of my jubilee to religious ceremonies only and postponed the secular ceremonies. The medals which I intended to award to those of my spiritual children for their services will be distributed privately as this is not a religious ceremony."

On this occasion, a deputation had come from the ruler of Cutch with a costly robe of honour and a cash present of Rs. 1,000. His Highness Maharana Virbhadra Sinhji of Lunawada had sent a valuable silver tea set with his representative.

When he heard that the King's illness had taken a serious turn, the Aga Khan had ordered his followers to offer prayers in all the Jamat Khanas for His Majesty's speedy recovery. Such was his solicitude for the King's health that he was known to be constantly receiving reports about its progress.

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On Monday, January 20th, the day following the gold weighing ceremony, King George V passed away. On receiving the sad news, His Highness ordered his followers to postpone all celebrations in connection with his golden jubilee.

It was the principal day of the celebrations and a durbar was to have been held that day followed by a huge procession. Both these events with the rest of the programme which would have lasted for a week were immediately cancelled.

A big dinner had been arranged for over 30,000 of His Highness' followers. This too was cancelled, and all the preparations costing thousands of rupees were thrown away.

Further, under His Highness' orders, his followers removed all illuminations and flew the Ismaili flags half-mast from their houses and put aside their gold turbans for seven days.

All Ismaili schools, shops, business houses and other institutions were also kept closed for a day and all golden jubilee organisations throughout India were informed by wire to stop further celebrations and share the mourning of the Empire.

His Highness the Aga Khan himself wore the black dress of mourning and cancelled all his social engagements.

At the chief prayer hall of the Ismailis in Bombay, the Aga Khan, in leading the prayers for the soul of the departed King, said:

"The holy prophet said that he was proud of having been born under the reign of a just King, Naushirwan

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of Persia, and the prophet spoke highly of Naushirwan. Now, we who were born under so just a King-Emperor as George V may well be proud of it and pray for the memory of him who ever protected all his subjects, who was just and fair to his Muslim subjects, who protected our Ismaili faith, who was ever solicitous for the welfare of his people including the Ismailis—we rightly pray for the repose of his soul earnestly and devotedly."

In 1937, The Aga Khan was weighed a second time in gold in Nairobi by the Ismailis in Africa, thus providing an unique instance of such a ceremony in world history. But the weighing in gold is nothing to what the Ismaili followers of this great world personality intend doing in 1942 when his diamond jubilee falls due. They mean to weigh him in diamonds suiting the word to the occasion and preparations are already well under way for this great consummation.

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APPENDIX

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THE KHOJA CASE

In the cause celebre tried in the High Court of Bombay before Sir Joseph Arnould in April and June 1866, and popularly known as the Khojah Case or Aga Khan case, the following were the parties:—

The Relator or Plaintiffs were Daya Mahomad, Mahomad Saya, Peer Mahomed Cassumbhoy and Fazulbhoy Goolam Hoosanee with H.M's Advocate General as nominal complainant.

The Defendants were Mahomad Hoosein Hoosanee (otherwise called Aga Khan) Allarkiaa Soomar, Khakee Pudumsey Dossa Laduck, Mahomed Peerbhoy, Allybhoy Jan, Hubbibhoy Ebrahim, Mooraj Premjee, Dhurmsey Poonjabhoy, Noor Mahomed Rajpall, Assoo Gangjee, Nanjee Alloo and Mahomed Yoosoof Moorgay, Kazi of the Mahomedans of the Town and Island of Bombay.

The Counsels in the case were as follows:—

For the Relator:—Mr. Anstey, Mr. Scoble, and Mr. Macpherson (instructed by Mr. Khunderow Morojee).

For the first Defendant, His Highness Aga Khan:—Mr. Bayley, and Mr. Howard (instructed by Messrs. Keir, Ramsden and Prescott).

For Allarakia Soomar and seven other Defendants:—Mr. McCulloch and Mr. Green (instructed by Messrs. Dallas, Lynch and Langdale).

For Asso Gangjee:—Mr. Louis and Mr. Hayllar (instructed by Mr. Venayek Hurrychund).

For Dhurmsey Poonjabhoy:—Mr. Taylor (instructed by Mr. Leggett).

For the Advocate General:—Mr. Ferguson (instructed by the Government Solicitors).

The arguments in the case and the examination of witnesses lasted twenty-five days. The points at issue between the parties are set forth in the Judgment of the learned Judge which follows.

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APPENDIX

(1) The Information and Bill in this suit has been filed by the Relators and Plaintiffs representing a numerical minority of the Khojah community of Bombay against the Defendants, the principal of whom represent a numerical majority of the same community.

It prays, among other things, that an account may be taken of all property belonging to, or held in trust for, the Khoja community of Bombay, which may have come to the hands of Allarukia Soomar and Khaki Puddumsey, two of the defendants, as Mukhi and Kamaria (treasurer and accountant) of the said community, that the two last-named defendants may be declared to have ceased to be Mukhi and Kamaria of the community since the 8th of November 1861; and may be ordered to deliver over all the property of the community now in their possession to such persons as the Court shall direct.

The 5th clause of the prayer (which is the most important of the whole), is in these terms: "That it may be declared that the said trust premises" (i.e. the public property of the Khojah community of Bombay) "are holden and ought to be applied to and for the original charitable religious, and public uses and trusts to or for which the same were dedicated, and intended so to be, and to none other; and to and for the sole benefit of the Khojah sect, and none other; and that no person not being a member or having ceased to be a member of the same (and in particular no person professing Shia opinions in matters of religion and religious discipline) is entitled unto, or ought to have, any share or interest therein, or any voice in the management thereof."

The 6th clause of the prayer is that a scheme, if necessary, may be settled for carrying into effect the above declaration, and also for the periodical and regular election, from time to time, of the Mukhis and Kamarias of the said community, and generally for the security and management of the property of the said community.

The 7th and last clause of the prayer, is that the first defendant Mahomed Hussain Hoosanee otherwise called Aga

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Khan, may be restrained from interfering in the management of the trust property and affairs of the Khojah community, or in the election and appointment of Mukhi and Kamaria; from excommunicating any Khojahs from the said community, or depriving them of the various privileges appertaining to membership; from celebrating marriages in the Jumat Khana; from demanding or receiving from any Khojah any oblation, cess, offerings, etc., in the alleged spiritual or temporal capacity of him the first defendant.

(2) As already intimated, the 5th clause of this prayer is the most important. It, in effect, raises that question, with which the evidence in this suit has been principally concerned, as to what in their origin, were the religious tenets of the Khojah community, and what from the beginning, has been the nature of their relations, spiritual or temporal, with the ancestors of the first defendant Aga Khan, who, on his part alleges that he is, and that his ancestors in the long line of hereditary descent, have successively been the Imams or spiritual chiefs of the Shia Imamee Ismailis.

On the one hand, the relators and plaintiffs contend that Pir Sudr-ud-din, (whom both sides admit to have originally converted the Khojahs from Hinduism to some form of Mahomedanism) was a Suni; that the Khojah community has ever since its first conversion been and now is, Suni; and that no persons calling themselves Khojahs who are not Sunis, are entitled to be considered members of the Khojah community, or to have any share or interest in the public property of the Khojah community or any voice in the management thereof.

On the other side it is maintained by the first defendant, and by the other defendants who are in the same interest with him, that Pir Sudr-ud-din was not a Suni, but a Shia of the Imamee Ismaili persuasion; that he was a Dai or missionary of one of the direct lineal ancestors of the first defendant the Imam or spiritual chief for the time then being of the Imamee Ismailis; that from the time of the first conversion till now the Khojah community has been and still is (with the exception of

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the relators and plaintiffs and those comparatively few families among the Bombay Khojahs who adhere to them), of the Shia Immamee Ismaili pursuasion; that the said committee (except as aforesaid) always has been bound in close ties of spiritual allegiance to the ancestors of the first defendant, Aga Khan, the hereditary chiefs or Imams of the Ismailis, whom the Khojah community always have regarded and (except as above) still regard as their Moorsheds or spiritual heads.

(3) It is to the issue thus raised that the great mass of the voluminous evidence taken in this suit was directed. It was expressly admitted by Mr. Anstey, the very learned and able leading counsel for the relators and plaintiffs that the determination of this issue would, in effect, dispose of the whole of the present suit. "If the Khojahs," he said "are proved in their origin to have been Sunis, the relators, and plaintiffs must succeed: if they are proved to have been originally Shias or Shia Immamee Ismaelis, or in any way non-Sunis, then the defendants must succeed." An attempt, indeed, was subsequently made, (after Mr. Anstey's return to England had left the conduct of the case in other hands), to recede from the position thus taken; but, after full consideration and for reasons which I shall have to state elsewhere, I am of opinion that Mr. Anstey's view was the correct one, and that the decision of the Court upon the issue thus raised, must substantially determine the rights of the contending parties on this record.

(4) The conclusion thus arrived at bears upon a point which it is necessary to dispose of at the outset, the effect namely, either as a decree or as a precedent of a certain "Declaration of Rights" (set out at length in the 3rd paragraph of the present Information and Bill) pronounced by Sir Erskine Perry in the sittings of the late Supreme Court, after the third term of the year 1851.

This "Declaration of Rights" was pronounced by Sir Erskine Perry in a suit, commenced by information and bill on 21st February 1850 between parties, some of whom (as notably the first defendant) were the same parties; and all of whom respectively represented the same interests as those now represented

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by the relators and plaintiffs on the one side, and the first and other the principal defendants on the other side, in the present suit. The information and bill, indeed, in the present suit purports to be and may be taken as being in continuation of the information and bill in the former suit.

As the decree it is quite clear that this expression of judicial opinion is not binding: it was never drawn up as a decree, and, moreover, contains clear internal evidence that it was never intended so to be. Sir Erskine Perry, in the course of his observations, calls it, as it has consequently been termed above, a "Declaration of Rights" and expresses, a hope that "the Khojas, by its aid, will "be able to elect a Mukhi and Kamaria and manage their caste affairs among themselves, without rendering any further application to the court necessary." As a precedent I should, from the great learning and ability of Sir Erskine Perry, and his known familiarity with the history and usages of the native populations of India, be inclined to pay this expression of judicial opinion the highest respect on all points in regard to which I could treat it as an adjudication upon precisely the same questions as those now before me, and pronounced upon the same or a very similar state of proved facts.

For instance, upon the question, whether this Court, that is the late Supreme Court on its equity side, has jurisdiction to entertain this case at all, regarded as a matter of caste dispute arising in a native community upon this question which as appears from his Declaration of Rights, was expressly raised before Sir Erskine Perry in argument, and decided by him in the affirmative, I shall follow his judgment as a binding precedent.

Upon other points affecting the relative rights of the Khojah community of Bombay and of Aga Khan, the principal defendant in that suit as in the present suit, I should not feel bound by Sir Erskine Perry's decision unless I were certified, which, from the nature of the case I have not been and cannot be (no authorized report of the evidence and proceedings in this former suit being in existence), that his decision was arrived at upon the same, or substantially the same evidence, as that which has

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so exhaustively been adduced before me during the protracted hearing of the present suit, which occupied the court for no less than twenty-four days.

As to the great question in the present suit, that upon the determination of which, as already intimated the decision of the controversy between these litigants, in my judgment, really turns the question, namely, whether the Khojahs are, and from the first have been Sunis or non-Sunis,—subordinate to the Imam of the Ismailis as their spiritual head or not so subordinate—this does not appear to have been a question upon which Sir Erskine Perry was called upon to pronounce, it is, one certainly, upon which he has not pronounced any adjudication whatever.

Sir Erskine Perry declared, upon the evidence before him, that certain property and certain privileges belonged to the Khojah community, but he did not decide, nor is there anything to show he ever was called upon to decide, what are the conditions of full membership in the Khojah community—whether the circumstances of being a non-Suni (as the Relators and Plaintiffs contend), or of being a Suni and as such disowning spiritual allegiance to the hereditary Imam of the Ismailis (as the first Defendant and those who join with him contend), is to exclude from caste membership in the Khojah community, and to disentitle a man from sharing or having an interest in the public property of the community, or a voice in the management thereof.

(5) The principal question, then, in the present suit, viz. aye or no, were the Khojahs, in their origin as a separate religious community, Sunis or Non-Sunis,—Sunis or Shia Imamee Ismaili,—bound or not bound by ties of spiritual allegiance to the Imams of the Imamee Ismailis—this question is quite untouched by any previous judicial decision.

It is a historical question to be decided by evidence as to matter of fact, and is quite as much within the competency of the equity side of the late Supreme Court, in the exercise of what it is technically called its charitable jurisdiction, as any other question of fact arising out of the caste disputes of the Khojah community.

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(6) The cases in which similar questions have been entertained by English courts of equity are well known and were copiously referred to at the bar. They are that class of cases of which the case of Lady Hewley's charities reported as Shore v. Wilson in 9 Clerk and Finelly (356) is probably the most familiar, and which all proceed upon and illustrate the now well-established principle that, when Courts of Equity, in the exercise of their so-termed charitable jurisdiction, are called upon to adjudicate between the conflicting claims of dissident parties in communities held together or distinguished by some religious profession or denomination, the rights of the litigants will be regulated by reference to what upon enquiry turn out to have been the religious tenents and opinions held by the community in its origin or at its foundation.

A minority, however, numerically small, holding fast by these opinions will be entitled to prevail against a majority, however numerically large, which can be shown to have receded from or renounced them.

The Khojah community is a community of this kind. The fact of a man's being a Khojah indicates that he holds by some form or other of religious belief. What that form of religious belief was at the origin of the Khojahs as a separate and distinct community, is therefore a question of fact which, if disputed must be determined by evidence in court of equity, when asked, in the exercise of what is called its charitable jurisdiction, to decide on the relative rights of the dissident bodies within the same sect.

The relators and plaintiffs, have, in several passages of their information and bill, spoken of the Khojahs as a sect: they notably do so in the 5th clause of their prayer in which they ask for a declaration that the public property of the community ought to be applied to the original "religious" trusts for which they were originally dedicated, and for the sole benefit of the Khojah "sect" and that no person not being a member of such sect, especially that no person professing Shia opinions in matters of religion and religious discipline is entitled to any share or interest therein.

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(7) Before entering upon the direct investigation as to whether the Khojahs, in their origin as a distinct and separate community, were Sunis or non-Sunis it will be necessary in order to have a due appreciation of the evidence, first to consider the following questions.

First:—What are the Sunis as distinct from the Shias?

Secondly:—Who and what are the Shia Imamee Ismailis?

Thirdly:—Who and what is the first defendant Aga Khan?

Fourthly:—Who and what (independently of their distinctive religious belief) are the Khojahs, and what are and have been their relations with the first defendant, and his ancestors?

Fifthly:—What have been the relations of the first defendant, Aga Khan with the particular community to which the relator and plaintiffs belong, viz. the Khojah community of Bombay?

(8) First, then, as to the Sunis and the Shias, and their respective peculiarities of religious opinion and practice.

The Sunis are the orthodox Mussulmans, the people of the Sunna or tradition. Their kulm or profession of faith, is the simple one "There is no God but God and Mahomed is the Apostle of God." To this the Shias add, "and Ali the companion of Mohomed is the Vicar of God."

The elevation of Ali to an almost co-equal position with the Apostle of God himself, may be stated popularly as the great distinctive tenet of the Shias.

Etymologically the word "Shias" means either "Separatists" (which is probably the more correct derivation) or persons who are pure (Shia) from the blood of those members of the family of Ali who early fell victims to the hostility of the Suni Ommeiades, the Caliphs of Damascus.

It will conduce to clearness if I here recall in rapid outline the history of the earliest divisions in Islam.

The Apostle of God died without appointing a "Caliph" or successor.

The Caliph or successor of the Apostle of God (who had been both a temporal and spiritual sovereign) was to succeed him in both these capacities, he was to be both "Emir-al-Momenin" or "commander of the true believers" and also

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"Imam-al-Moslemin" or spiritual chief of the devout" as we should say in our Latin or Western phrase, "Supreme Pontiff as well as Imperator or temporal ruler."

The general expectation of Islam had been that Ali, the first disciple, the beloved companion of the Apostle of God, the husband of his only surviving child Fatima, would be the first Caliph. It was not so to be. The influence of Ayesha, the young and favourite wife of Mahomed, a rancorous enemy of Fatima and of Ali procured the election of her own father Abubekr; Abubekr was succeeded by Omar and to him Osman; upon whose death, in the year 655 of our era, Ali was at last raised to the caliphate. He was not even then unopposed; aided by Ayesha, Moawiyah, of the family of the Ommeiades, contested the caliphate with him, and while the strife was still doubtful, in the year A.D. 660 Ali was slain by a Kharegite, or Mussulman fanatic, in the mosque of Cufa, at that time the principal Mahomedan city on the right or west bank of the Euphrates, itself a ruin, at no great distance from the ruins of Babylon.

This assasination of Ali caused a profound sensation in the Mahmedan world. He was, and deserved to be, deeply beloved being clearly and beyond comparison the most heroic of that time fertile in heroes—a man brave and wise, and magnanimous and just, and self-denying in a degree hardly exceeded by any character in history. He was besides the husband of the only and beloved child of the Apostle of God, and their two sons Hasan and Hoosein had been the darlings of their grandfather, who had publicly given them the title of "the foremost among the youth of paradise."

On these sons, Hussan, the eldest, a saint and a recluse, on the death of his father sold his birthright of empire to Moawiyah, for a large annual revenue which during the remainder of his life he expended in works of charity and religion at Medina. In the year A.D. 669 this devout and blameless grandson of the Apostle of God was poisoned by one of his wives who had been bribed to that wickedness by Yezd, the son of Moawiyah and the second of the Ommeiad Caliphs of Damascus.

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There thus remained as head of the direct lineage of the Apostle of God, Hoosein, the younger son of Fatima and Ali a brave and noble man, in whom dwelt much of the spirit of his father.

Eleven years after his elder brother's murder, in the year 680 of our era, yielding to the repeated entreaties of the chief Moslem people of Irak Arabi (or Mesopotamia) who promised to meet him, with a host of armed supporters, Hoosein set forth from Medina to Cufa to assert his right to the Caliphate against the hated Ommeiades. He crossed the desert with only a feeble train—his wife, his sister Fatima, two of his sons, and a few armed horsemen, who on reaching Kerbela, then a desert station about a day's journey from the west bank of the Euphrates and in the near neighbourhood of Cufa, he found drawn up to meet him a host not of retainers, but of foes. The narrative of what follows is among the most pathetic in all history. The noble son of Ali and Fatima, the favourite grandson of the Apostle of God, after deeds of valour romantic even in an Arab of that age, fell pierced through and through with the arrows and javelins of the cowardly assailants who did not dare to come within the sweep of his arm. One of his sons and a nephew had already been slain in his sight. His other son, his wife and his sister were carried away captive to Damascus. They smote off the head of the son of Ali and paraded it in triumph through the streets of Cufa. As it passed along the brutal Obdiedollah, the governor of the city, struck the mouth of the dead man with his staff. "Ah," cried an aged Mussulman whom horror and just wrath made bold. "What a foul deed is that! on those lips I have seen the lips of the Apostle of God."

This tragic event stirred the heart of Islam to its very depths, and even now, after the lapse of nearly 1,200 years it separates as from the first it separated, the Mahomedan world into the two great and hostile divisions of the Sunis and the Shias,—of the Sunis, who bless the memory and are zealous in the cause of Ayesha and Abubekr and Omar and Osman and of the Shias, who execrate the memory of the three first Caliphs, and, hardly in a less degree, that of Ayesha herself; who by

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degrees have come to regard Ali as a something more than mortal—as not only the Vicar but in some mystic sense, an Incarnation of God; who venerate Fatima as the first among women; and yearly celebrate the martyrdom of Hoosein not only with the outward signs but with the inward reality of lamentation and mourning and woe.

It was on the 10th day of the month Mohurrum (which happened to coincide with the 9th of October of the year 680 of our era) that Hoosein fell martyred on the sands of Kerbela. The Mahomedan year being Lunar and ours solar, the 10th day of the Mohurrum occurs at the various periods of our calendar, but, whenever it comes round in all parts of Asia where Shias are to be found, it is observed as a day of sorrow and of tears and of beating of the breasts in grief.

In Persia which (with a brief exception under Nadir Sha from A.D. 1736 to 1747) has ever since the accession of the Saffevi dynasty at the commencement of the 16th century of our era, been the great Shia empire, and whose population has consequently been able, without dread of Suni persecution, to indulge freely in the expression of its love and sorrow for the martyred son of Ali and Fatima—the celebration of the Mohurrum is a national ceremony of mourning, conducted in the capital of the Sha-in-Sha (king of kings) with a solemn magnificence that, with all its pomp cannot deaden, or even tone down, the hysterical passion with which even strong, and brave men listen to the oft-recited story of the great martyrdom (see Chardin Potter, Morier, and other travellers in Persia). In India, where Shias have always been comparatively few, and the Sunis many and powerful, the Mohurrum is celebrated, by the Sunis with "riot and ill-managed merriment, with ribald jests, and the course antics of mountebanks dressed up in the skins of wild beasts the Shias, on the other hand, assemble sadly in their houses, or their mambaras, where they listen with tears and loud sobbings to the pathetic story; or if they join in the procession at all, and are not interferred with by the regulations of the police (as has latterly been the case in Bombay), they lead along, mourning and beating their breasts as they go, a riderless white horse, re-

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presenting that from which Hoosein, parched with thirst, dismounted to take his last cup of water at his tent door, when the remorseless and accursed Shamer shot through his lips with an arrow as he drank and mingled his dying blood with the draught.

(See Ockley's History of the Saracens: Dynasty of the Ommeiad's Yezid 1. Gibbon's Decline and Fall, chap. 50 by the 11th clause of the Indian Evidence Act II of 1855, the court "on the matters of public history, literature, science or art may refer for the purpose of evidence to such published books, maps, etc. as it may deem to be of authority on the subject to which they relate").

The neighbourhood of Kerbela is to the Shias, what the neighbourhood of Jerusalem was to early Christendom.

Near Nijuf, a day's journey from the west bank of the Euphrates and about 120 miles south-west of Bagdad, rises Meshed Ali, the superb muasoleum of the husband of Fatima, the companion and the son-in-law of the Apostle of God. About another day's journey to the north-west of Meshed Ali, still on the same or western bank of the great river,—at Kerbela, now a place of considerable size and importance, is Meshad Hoosein the holy sepulchre of Hoosein the "Shehad" or martyr.

These tombs (though standing in the territories of the Suni Turks have from time to time been adorned with the utmost magnificence by the Shia sovereigns of Persia, and they are constantly attended by a large body of Syuds (descendants of Ali) whose services are largely rewarded by the pious benefactions of the faithful (see the evidence of witness No. XIX).

From all parts of Asia and at all periods of the year a constant stream of Shia pilgrims flows towards these holy tombs. Nor is it the living only who crowd there: the fondest wish of wealthy and pious Shias at the approach of death, is to be buried in the sacred dust that surrounds the tombs of Ali or of Hoosein; and, from the river bank long strings of camels may be seen traversing the sands towards the holy places laden with the coffins of the devout votaries who are thus making their last pilgrimage

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to Nijuf or to Kerbela (Gibbon's Decline and Fall, chap. 50· evidence of witness No. XIX).

The sacred dust of Kerbela is made into moulds (called in India Mohurs, from their resemblance in shape and size to pieces of coined money and into strings of large beads. Whenever the Shia prays, which he does three times a day (at sunrise, noon, sunset), not five times a day, as the Sunis do, he is careful to put his Mohur or mould, of the dust of Kerbela on the ground, so that it may meet his forehead in the act of prostration,—and when in prayer he names the name of God, he touches one of the beads fashioned out of the dust of Kerbela that are strung on his rosary. On more solemn occasions, such as at the new moon, the Ramzan or the Muhurrum, the Shia is in the habit of partaking of a sort of sacramental cup consisting of water mingled with the dust of Kerbela.

In short the whole religious life of the Shia is completely steeped in a current of thoughts, beliefs, traditions, and observances which all have their source in Ali and Fatima, and their two sons Hassan and Hoosein—the four venerated names which with that of the Apostle of God, compose the panchton (or Pentad) of the Ala Saba, or Holy Family of Islam, (see as to all above the evidence of the witnesses for the defence passim).

Now all this the Sunis regard as so much deplorable superstition. They tell you indeed they respect Ali as the son-in-law of the Apostle of God and as a good man (the solemn cursing of Ali, however, was continued long after the accession to power of the Suni line of the Abasside caliphs, the successors of the Ommeiads (see Gibbon's Decline and Fall, c.52); but to revere Ali as the Vicar of God, still more as an Incarnation of God, is utterly abhorrent to all the religious feelings of a pious and orthodox Suni. To go on pilgrimage to Kerbela, to bow the forehead in payer on moulds made of the dust of Kerbela, to drink, on the great Mehometan anniversaries, water mixed with the dust of Kerbela,—these are all practices which a Suni Mussalman shrinks from as so many forbidden superstitions. (See in addition to the various authorities cited at the bar, the evidence

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of witness No. XXX, a Suni Mussulman called by the defendants).

The Suni prays fives times a day; the Shia only three times; the Suni, with his arms folded across his breast; the Shia with his arms held straight down by his side; the Shia venerates Ali and Fatima as something more than mortal, and execrates the memory of Abubekr and Omar and Osman; the Suni pays sincere reverence to these three Caliphs and introduces their names into the Khootbah or (Friday prayer), and into the dedicatory inscriptions in his mosques: the Suni, in India at least, celebrates the Mohurrum with ribald buffoonery; the Shia with heartfelt lamentations.

In a world agreeing in reverencing Mahomet as the Apostle, and the Koran as the word of God, the Sunis and Shias agree in little else except hating each other with the most cordial and bitter hatred. The quarrel of Ayesha and Fatima is an undying one, and Islam is still divided by the fierce enmities of the respective partizans of the favourite wife, and of the only daughter of the Apostle of God.

(9) The next question is, Who are the Shia Imamee Ismailis? Formally they are those among the Shias who hold Ismail, the seventh in descent from Ali to have been the last of the Revealed Imams; and who also hold that, until the final manifestation of Ali who (as an Incarnation of God) is to come before the end of all things to judge the world the musnud of the Imamate (or in Latin idiom the office of Supreme Pontiff) is rightfully held by an hereditary succession of unrevealed Imams, the lineal descendants of Ali through Ismail.

The revealed Imams, according to the Ismailis are these seven.

(1) Ali, (2) Hassan, (3) Hoosein, (4) Zeinal Abedeen (this was the son of Hoosein who survived the massacre of Kerbela) (5) Mohammed Bauker, (6) Jaffir Sadick, (7) Ismail (who died before his father and is called, from his father's name, Ismail-been-Jaafir Sadick).

Under the dominion of the earlier Abassides (the caliphate of the Abassides of Baghdad, extended from A.D. 750 to A.D.

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1272) the Ismailis, like all other opponents of the Suni or orthodox faith, were exposed to severe persecution. Their doctrine of the Immamate made them peculiarly obnoxious. As already explained every Caliph, or successor of the Apostle of God, held as part of his sovereignty, the office of Imam-al-Moslemin (supreme Pontiff of the Devout); so that the doctrine of the Ismailis, in the eyes of the Suni princes was not only heresy in the religion, but treason against the State.

The result was that, from the beginning, they were compelled to teach and spread their tenets secretly.

In all essentials the Ismailis were Shias, but they held in addition certain peculiar tenets, such as this respecting the Imamate, which would appear to have been first formalized into a regular system (with different ascending degrees of initiation and stages of more or less esoteric doctrine) about the beginning of the 10th century of our era by the famous Abdallali-bin-Maimun, who taught first at Ahwas in the south-west of Persia and afterwards at Salemieh in Syria (Von Hammers "History of the Assasins," p. 25 Dr. Wood's Translation, London, 1835). Abdallah-bin-Maimun, together with several tenets derived from the Magians or Zoroastrians, is said to have adopted from the Hindu philosophy and to have engrafted into the higher stages of the Ismaili Initiation, certain principles of Pantheism which by doing away with the notion of a personal God and personal conscious Immortality, are easily represented as involving the doctrine of human non-accountability and even that of the moral indifferency of actions—a reproach frequently brought, but apparently without good reason, against the more esoteric teachings of the Ismaili system (see Von Hammer, as also Silvester de Sacy, expose de la Religion des Druzes, 2 Vols Paris 1838).

One of the initiated disciples of Abdullah-bin-Maimun himself a lineal descendant from Ismail the 7th Imam—Abdolla or Obeidollah, about the middle of the 10th century of our era, laid in Africa the foundations of what afterwards became the Fatimite Caliphate of Cairo, and which lasted till overthrown

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by the orthodox Suni Saladin (the chivalrous rival in arms of Coeur de Lion) about the year of Christ 1171.

This Fatimite Caliphate was a dynasty of Ismailis; it was named after Fatima, the wife of Ali and sole daughter of the Apostle of God from whom its Caliphs traced their descent through Obeidollah and Ismail the 7th Imam.

In Cairo under the dominion of the Fatimite Caliphs the religious system of the Ismailis with its secret lodges, its many stages of initiation and its somewhat mystic ceremonies, was matured and perfected.

It is not necessary to go into the details of these developments. Von Hammer's "History of the Assasins" (translated, not with any great felicity by Dr. Wood) Silvestre de Sacy's "Religion of the Druses," the Dabistan, and other oriental authorities cited at the bar, by the exhaustive industry of Mr. Anstey on the one side and Mr. Howard on the other, supply ample materials for a dissertation on a subject of considerable interest, both historical, and theological for which, however, this is not the place.

Two points, however connected with this part of the subject have such an important bearing on the main question at issue in this case, that they must be noticed with some degree of attention.

These two points are, first, the universal prevalence among the Ismailis of the practice of "Takiah," or concealment of religious opinion, secondly, their method of seeking to make converts by assuming to a great extent the religious stand-points of the person, whom they desired to convert modestly hinting a few doubts and difficulties and then, by degrees, suggesting, as the only possible solution of these the peculiar tenets of their own system.

As to the first point, the word "Takiah" was of constant not perhaps, quite adequately, mental reservation; its full meaning is something more than that. It is an Arab word, whose root-meaning is "fear or caution," its full applied meaning is "concealment of a man's own religious opinions and adoption of alien religious forms,"—either from a desire to avoid giving offence or from dread of persecution.

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The polite Orientals (the Suni Mussalmans excepted) willingly sacrifice some of their religious scruples and conceal a portion of their religious zeal rather than hurt the feelings of those opposed to them in religious matters. This sort of religious comity is not absolutely confined to the East; even British Protestants of the laxer sort, are, I believe, occasionally known, in Catholic countries, to raise their hats, or otherwise show some token of outward respect as the more solemn processions of the Romish Church pass by. This is "Takiah;" outward conformity, in order to avoid giving offence, or hurting the religious feelings of others.

Of the "Takiah" caused by the dread of insult or persecution a familiar and amusing instance may be found in the demeanour of those Shias' who make the Hadj; i.e. go on pilgrimage to Mecca. In that centre of Suni bigotry and intolerance the Shia pilgrims "out of Takiah" abandon their customary times and forms of prayer, praying five times a day with arms crossed instead of three times a day with arms held straight down to their sides. Captain Burton in his very interesting "Pilgrimage to Mecca" describes with considerable humour how the Shia pilgrims even force themselves to pay outward and most reluctant homage to the tombs of Abubekr, Omar and Osman—the bitter foes of their venerated Ali, and the objects of their own most uncompromising and religious hatred (see Capt. Burton's Pilgrimage to Mecca" and the evidence of the Shia witness No. XIX who, however, did not visit the tombs of the three Caliphs). This is, "Takiah," adopted with the view of avoiding persecution, insult, or ill usage for religious sake.

The peculiar tenets of the Ismailis with regard to the Imamate, imposed upon them a peculiar reason for practising "Takiah" in all countries within the sway of the Suni caliphs; this long enforced habit grew at last into a second nature, and the practice of Takiah became universal among the Ismailis the offspring of persecution and fear.

The other peculiarity of the Ismailis that, namely, of assuming or admitting the truth of the greater portion of the

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religious tenets of those whom they wished to convert to their own, is copiously illustrated by Silvestre de Sacy (Religion des Druzes, "vol. i." Introduction p. 148 to 163) citing from an Ismaili work of authority, the Kitub-al-siyaset, which contains among other things instructions for the proceedings of the Dais or missionaries of the Ismailis.

If the Dai or missionary has a Shia (not of the Immamee Ismaili persuasion) to deal with, he is to represent himself (as in this case he might do with perfect truth) as a zealous partisan of all the Shia doctrine. He is to dwell with unction on the cruelty and injustice with which the Sunis treated Ali and his sons on the martyrdom of Hoosein and the captivity of his family. He is to abuse the Suni Caliphs of both lines, the Ommeiades and the Abassides, and then, having thus prepared the way he is to insinuate as the necessary completion of the Shia system of faith the more esoteric doctrines of the Ismailis.

Is it a Jew he has to deal with? he is to speak disparagingly of the Christians and the Mussalmans, to agree with his intended convert in still looking forward to a promised Messiah, but by degrees to bring his mind to the persuasion, that this promised Messiah can be none other than Ali, the great Messiah of the Ismaili system.

If it be a Christian he hopes to bring over he must expatiate on the obstinacy of the Jews and ignorance of the Mussalmans, must profess the reverence for all the chief articles of the Christian creed, but gently hint that they are symbolic and point to a deeper meaning, to which the Ismaili system alone can supply the key, he may suggest that the Christians have somewhat misinterpreted the doctrine of the Paraclete, that a Paraclete, there is, and that it is to this the true Paraclete—that the Dai, or Missionary would lead his enquiring friend.

It is needless to pursue these illustrations at greater length.

Two points may be taken as conclusively established with regard to the Ismailis.

(1) That they habitually enjoined and carried out the practice of "Takiah," i.e. concealment of their own peculiar views

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in religion and outward adoption of religious forms not their own.

(2) That their Dais or missionaries were directed, as a general rule, to set about the work of making converts by assuming to a great extent the religious stand-point of those whom they wished to bring over to their own faith.

Both these points will be found to have an important bearing on the appreciation of the evidence adduced in this case.

And now we must notice a curious passage in history which connects the principal defendant in this case, Aga Khan with the "Sheikh el Jubal" or "Old Man of the Mountains" of Marco Polo with the Chiefs or (according to Von Hammer) the hereditary Grand Masters of the Assassins of Alamut.

After the Ismaili system had been elaborately completed at Cairo under the Fatimite Caliphs, receiving there a superstructure of Egyptian Hierophantism upon the basis of Magian and Indian dogma, which it had derived from its Persian founders, it had the fortune, a little after the middle of the 11th century of our era, about the time that William the Norman was winning the battle of Hastings,—to attract the attention of a very accomplished young Persian of Arabian descent and of Shia faith, who had already given promise of a brilliant career.

This was Hassan-bin-Saba, the son of a learned Shia doctor of the city of Rhai of Persia.

Hasan-bin-Saba had been carefully trained in all the learning of this time, his great friend and fellow-student being Nizam ul-Mulk, afterwards the renowned minister of Togrul Beg and of Malek Shah, the two first of the Toorki or Seljukian Sultans of Irak, whose seats of empire were Nishapur and Rhai. In his early manhood Hassan-bin-Saba met with, and had been deeply impressed by the teachings of, a Dai or missionary of the Fatimite Ismailis. An adventurous life of action had weakened, but not effaced, these earlier impressions when, being checked in his career of ambition, by the superior fortunes of his rival Nizam-ul-Mulk he resolved to

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repair to Egypt, in order to be instructed at the fountain-head in the more esoteric doctrines of the Ismailis.

A three years' residence in Cairo made him an adept and an enthusiast in the Ismaili faith, and he returned to Persia eager to propagate the tenets he had embraced.

Persia, at that time, was in the most rigid bonds of Suni orthodoxy the Shepherd Chiefs of Central Asia (and such in their origin were the Seljukian Sultans of Irak) having always been among the most devoted upholders of the straitest traditions of Islam.

Hassan-bin-Sabah soon found that he could only attempt openly to propagate his new creed at the imminent risk of his life. He formed his plan, partly by force and partly by fraud he possessed himself of the impregnable mountain stronghold of Alamut (the Vultures' nest) built on a commanding crag of the Elburz mountains—the range that separates from the rest of Persia, the provinces that lie immediately to the south of the Caspian.

Here he established himself in the year 1090 of our era (just 700 years as Von Hammer is careful to inform us, before the commencement of that other great combination (as he views it) against the established order of society—the Constituent Assembly of revolutionary France).

Here, for 35 of the remaining years of a life which was protracted beyond the age of 90 Hasan-bin-Saba employed all the remarkable power of his mind in organizing a system of terror which fought with the dagger against the sword, and revenged persecution by assassination. He and his successors have, the infamous renown of having introduced that word into the vocabularies of Europe. It is likely enough, indeed, that the etymology insisted on by Silvestre de Sacy may be correct and that the word by which the Ismailis of Alamut and Massiaf were designated in the Eastern languages was Hashishin word derived from the use of the Hashish (a preparation of hemp, or bhang). With which Hasan-bin-Saba and his successors subdued the souls, while they inflamed the energies of the Fedawi, "the self-

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offering or devoted," whom they employed to use the language of Dryden, as their "blind, unthinking instruments of death." Be this as it may, the word Assassination has long been naturalized in all the languages of Europe to signify the vilest sort of murder —done to order.

I must resist the temptation of pursuing in further detail the story of the Ismailis of Alamut whose offshoot the assasins of Massiaf (corresponding rock-fortress on the mountain range north of Lebanon) were the terror of Syria and Western Asia during the second Crusade. I take up the thread of the narrative where it becomes connected with the principal defendant in this suit, Aga Khan, as it does in the person of Hassan-Ala-Sikrihi-es-Salam (or Blessed-be-his name) shortened into Zakaresalam the 4th in succession from Hasan-bin-Saba, of those whom Von Hammer calls "the hereditary Grand Masters of the Order of the Assassins of Alamut."

The founder himself Hasan-bin-Saba (that is "of the line of Saba,") though a fanatic Ismaili in religion was not—as his family name shows—an Ismaili by birth: he was not a descendant either lineal or collateral, from the Ismail the 7th Imam, the son of Jaffir Sadick.

Hasan-ala-Zakaresalam on the other hand, asserted for himself a direct lineal descent from Ismail the 7th Imam, through Nisar, a son of Mostansir (one of the Fatamite Caliphs of Egypt) who had been brought to Alamut in the time of Hasan-bin-Saba and whom Zekaresalam declared to have been his progenitor.

Von Hammer, drawing exclusively, as he admits from Suni sources leaves this statement of paternity involved in great doubt and obscurity, which is certainly not cleared up by the passage extracted from the 10th book of the Persian History of which a translation was put in by relators and plaintiffs (filed and marked as Exhibit R): the mystery that hangs about the story seems in some degree to justify the expression of Witness No. I, when he said that he had come to doubt the validity of Aga Khan's hereditary claims, (from Ali and Ismail, through the

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Fatimite Calips of Cairo) ever since he had found that he traced his pedigree through this Zekaresalam.

This is not the place, of course, for any attempt to clear up the obscurity of an Asiatic pedigree (a task which even Gibbon was obliged to renounce as hopeless), but it may be observed in passing that the record follies of this Zakara-salam are such as to make it prima facie not unlikely that he might really have been a blood descendant from the Fatimite Caliphs of Egypt among whom are to be found, as notably in the case of Hakim-Biamarallah, the mad Messiah of the Druzes of Lebnon, some of the most fatuous and extravagant of all the Mussalman princes who have ever ruled in any part of the East *

By one of his proceedings Zakaresalam excited more horror among orthodox Mussalmans than had been called forth even by the organized system of assassination established by the chiefs of Alamut. On the 17th day of Ramzan he caused a public pulpit to be raised in the Mosella or place of prayer at the base of the castle of Alamut, and thence proclaimed himself the Vice-regent of God, abolished all Moslem ordinances of positive religion declared that the sacred day of the Mahomedan calendar should thenceforth be celebrated as the Feast of the Revelation of the Imam and that the people should then and there (as, from the narrative, they appear to have done without much scruple) eat the flesh of the swine and drink even to drunkenness of the juice of the grape.

After a short reign of about four years this self-asserted and certainly worthy descendant of Hakim-Biamarallah was himself cut off by the dagger, and the hereditary Grand-mastership of the Assassins of Alamut passed through the hands of four successors, (all of whom, with one, probably accidental, exception, are recorded in the pedigree of Aga Khan exhibit No. 23) until the year of Christ 1258 when Alamut fell to rise no more (it has ever since been a heap of ruins) under the irresistible might of Holagou, one of the grandsons of the

* The "Fatimites" says Gibbon "were either rash or pusillanimous." "Detline & Fall" ch. 52· see Silvester De Secy's Religion des Druzes.

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great Zinghis Khan.* Although, by this utter overthrow, in which men, women and children were unsparingly put to the edge of the sword the Assassins of Alamut ceased to be a terror to Asia, and yet the race of the Ismailis still survived in Persia and the hereditary succession of their unrevealed Imams is traced in unbroken line down to Aga Khan the first defendant in this suit, in the pedigree already referred to (Exhibit No. 23). Of these names history knows nothing. One indeed Shah, Islam Shah, the 14th in the ascending line from Aga Khan, is currently mentioned by a tradition very prevalent in the Khojah caste, as the Imam of whom Pir Sudruddin, the converter of the Khojas, was the missionary or Dai. It appears probable that from the time the rulers of Persia became Shia, as they did from the establishment of the Saqevi dynasty about the commencement of the 16th century of our era, all active persecution of Ismailis ceased. After the troublous times of the Afghan invasion and of Nadir Shah, and during the period preceding the rise of the present or Kajar dynasty, when the Zend princes had the principal power in the south of Persia (say from A.D. 1750 to A.D. 1786), we find that Abool Hassan, the grandfather of Aga Khan, was governor of the very important city of Kerman (Exhibit 93).

About the year 1813 Macdonnell Kinneir, as cited by Von Hammer (History of the Assassins p. 210-211) notes in his "Topographical History of Persia," that in the district of the Persian highlands (or Kuhistan) especially near the ruins of Alamut, are still to be found a remnant of the Ismailis who go by the name of Hooseinis, he also remarks that the Ismailis of Persia recognise as their chief an Imam, "dwelling near Kekht" whose descent they deduce from Ismail, the son of Jaffir Sadick, and that as this Imam according to their doctrine is an emanation from the Diety, the Ismailis, some of whom are dispersed as far as India, go on pilgrimage "from the banks of the Ganges or Indus" to obtain his benediction.

These statements, read by the light which the evidence in this case throws upon them, are not without interest. The

* The Assassins of Massiaf & other rock forts in Syria were suppressed by the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt about A. D. 1280.

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Hooseinis, who still dwell about the ruins of Alamut are of the race who regard as their Imam the first defendant in this suit, whose own proper name, as distinct from his titular designation, is "Mahomed Hussain Hooseini. The Imam of the "Ismailis dwelling near Kekht," at the time of Macdonnell Kinner's stay in Persia, was Sha Khalilulla, the father of the first defendant. The votaries who went on pilgrimage from India to receive his benedictions, consisted mainly of the Khojahs, who, as we shall soon see, had for a long period of time been in the habit of making pilgrimages to what they called Durkhana, i.e. to the headquarters or principal residence for the time being of their Moorshed or Spiritual Head, the hereditary Imam of the Ismailis.

(10) The question Who is the Aga Khan? has thus already partly answered: "Mahomed Hussain Hooseinee otherwise Aga Khan," or as he is more formally styled when addressed or mentioned in official documents by the Bombay Government—"His Highness Aga Khan, Mehelati," is the hereditary Chief and unrevealed Imam of the Ismailis—the present or living holder of the Musnud of the Imamate—claiming descent in direct line from Ali, the Vicar of God, though the 7th (and according to the Ismaili creed) the last, of the Revealed Imams—Ismail, the son of Jaffir Sadick.

His own personal history has been somewhat adventurous and romantic. His grandfather Abdool Hassan, as already mentioned, was governor, under the Zend princes, of the important city of Kerman (Exhibit No. 93). On quitting that office Abdool Hassan went to reside in the district of Mehelat, where the family appear to have long had considerable possessions and whence Aga Khan derives his territorial title. Mehelati is between Hamadan (the old Ecbatana of the Medes) and Koom, the latter a city about midway between Ispahan and Teheran, and important as the burial place of more than one of the Shahs of the Saffevi dynasty, (the "Sofis" of Shakespeare); of Fatima the daughter of Imam Resa, the great saint of Persia; and more recently of Futteh Ali Sha the second in succession of the Kajar; or now ruling dynasty who after a long reign extending

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from A.D. 1798, to A.D. 1834, lies buried here in one of the most superb mausoleums that have ever been raised even to a Moslem prince.

The father of Aga Khan, Shah Khalillulah, having for a time taken up his abode at the city of Yezd, the principal seat of the Parsis (the remnant of the Magians or Zorostrians of ancient Persia) was slain there, with several of his household, in the year of Christ 1817 in the course of one of those tumultuary brawls which are not uncommon among the lawless mobs of the ill-policed Persian cities. "The news of this event," says Mr. Watson in his recent History of Persia (London 1866 vol. i—8vo.p.192—see also the confirmatory extract from the native Persian historian exhibit No. 93) "was received with the greatest concern by the Shah who dreaded lest he should be held responsible by the dangerous sect of the Ismailis for the death of their sacred chief." Futteh-Ali-Shah accordingly caused severe punishment to be inflicted on all the chief assailants in this murderous fray, and he conferred on the young Aga Khan (the successors of his father in the Imamate) large possessions in addition to those which had descended on him through his ancestors, the government of the entire district of Koom and Mehelat, and the hand of one of his daughters in marriage.

From this period (say 1818) till the year 1838 nothing more is recorded of Aga Khan. That (1838) was the year in which Mahomed Ali Shah, the 3rd in succession of the Kajar dynasty (he reigned from 1834 to 1848) retreated from the disastrous seige of Herat so memorably defended by Eldred Pottinger.

In that year, Aga Khan raised the standard of revolt and seized the government of Kerman, where his grandfather had once presided, and where he himself had numerous adherents.

Mr. Watson (History of Persia, p. 331) states somewhat vaguely, as the reason for this rising, that the Aga "thought the time had now come when he might assert with advantage the religious character of which he was inheritor." The native Persian historian (Exhibit No. 93) assigns what is, perhaps, a more probable reason, Hadji Mirza Aghasi, who had been the

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tutor of Mahomed Ali Shah, was during the whole reign of his royal pupil (from 1834 to 1848) the Prime Minister of Persia. A Persian of very low origin formerly in the service of Aga Khan, had become the chief favourite and minion of the all-powerful minister. This person, though his patron, had the impudence to demand in marriage for his son one of the daughters of Aga Khan—a grand daughter of the late Shah-in-Shah! This, says the Persian historian "was felt by Aga Khan to be a great insult," and the request, though strongly pressed by the Prime Minister, was indignantly refused. Having thus made the most powerful man in Persia his deadly enemy, Aga Khan probably felt that his best chance of safety was to assert himself in arms—a course not uncommon with the great feudatories of disorganised Persia. Making Kerman his head-quarters he appears to have kept up the fight with various fortunes through the years 1838-39 and part of 1840. In the latter year, overpowered by numbers, he was forced to take to flight, and with difficulty made his escape, attended by a few horsemen, through the deserts of Beloochistan to Scinde, where he appears to have been hospitably received by the Talpoor Ameers. In Scinde he could of course find no money difficulties to contend with. The Khojahs of that province (numbered nearly 3,00 houses of families) have always been among his most zealous adherents, and from them and his other Khojah devotees in various parts of India and the East, there can be no doubt he received ample supplies. That extraordinary levy the "Bukkus" which the witness No. XXIV, (the Aga's Kamaria or collector general for all Scinde) describes as a payment by Khojahs to their Spiritual Head "of a tenth of their whole possessions"—was probably last resorted to at this period of emergency and distress. "No order for such a levy," said this witness, "has been made for the last twenty-seven years," an answer implying that it had been made then which would be about the years 1839-1840.

Supplied with such resources Aga Khan was able during his residence in Scinde, to raise and maintain a body of light horse, who, during the latter stages of the Afghan war (in 1841

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and 1842) were of some service both to General Nott in Candahar and also to General England in his advance from Scinde to join Nott. For these services and for others which he was enabled to render to Sir Charles Napier in his conquest of Scinde in 1843-44 Aga Khan received, and it seems still enjoys, a pension from the British Government of India. (See for the above Major Rawlinson's letter to Mr. Maddock of 6th November, 1842; Parliamentary Papers relating to military operations on Afghanistant 1843 p. 217 and elsewhere; Sir William Napier's "History of General Sir Charles Napier's Administration of Scinde." London 1851).

In 1845 Aga Khan came to Bombay, where, as appears from the evidence of witness No. XIV. and No. XVIII. he was received by the cordial homage of the whole Khojah population of this city and its neighbourhood. With the exception of a certain period of absence at Calcutta in the years 1846-47 and 48 (Occasioned it is said by the demonstrances of Mohammed Ali Shah whose government was uneasy at the presence of the Ismaili chief in a port of such ready access to Persia as Bombay) —with this exception, Aga Khan has ever since made Bombay his principal place of residence—his "Durkhana" or headquarters. His habit during this period has been occassionally to preside at the Jumat Khana or council hall of the Bombay Khojahs, on the more sacred anniversaries of the Mahomedan calendar. At the Moharrum he attends there with some state to hear the solemn recitation by Shia Moolas of the legend of the Great Martyrdom. On that occasion, at the Ramazan, at the new moons, and on other stated days, he leads the Nimmaz or daily prayer in the Jumat Khana and also presides over the distribution of water mixed with the holy dust of Kerbela. Every week on Saturday (when in Bombay) he holds a durbar (levee) in the Jumat Khana at about 7 or 8 o'clock in the evening when all the members of the Khojah community who please may attend and have the honour of kissing his hand. The above, taken from the evidence of his very intelligent private secretary Kurreem Khan (witness No. XIV.) appear to be the principal public and religious duties performed by the Aga in Bombay.

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His yearly income, derived from his votaries in many various, and some very remote parts, of Asia, is said, by the same witness, to average a net sum equal to about £10,000 sterling of our money (Witness No. XIV). Of this considerable income the greater portion is spent by the Aga.

(1) The next question is Who and what are the Khojahs, and what have been their relations with the hereditary Imams of the Ismailis the ancestors of Aga Khan.

From the evidence adduced in this case, the more probable conclusion, I think, is that the Khojahs were originally Hindoos of the trading class, inhabiting the villages and towns of Upper Scinde. Their language is Scindi or Cutchee—a cognate dialect—and such ancient religious works as they possess are written in the Scindi language and character. Scinde an early Mahomedan conquest,* has long had a large Mahomedan population—but a considerable portion both of the retail and wholesale business of the country has always remained in the hands of the Hindoos. The position and circumstances of these remote and isolated Hindoo traders were manifestly such as to favour their conversion to some form or other of Mahomedanism.

That they were so converted by Pir Sudr-ud-din about 400 years ago, is admitted by both the contending parties in the Khojah community. It is also agreed that the tomb of this Pir or (Saint) is at Ootch, a town of about 1,800 houses in the native state of Bhawulpore, on the left bank of the Punjnund—the channel through which the collective waters of the five rivers of the Punjab flow into the Indus—and about 40 miles above its point of junction with the latter river. Here the agreement ends; according to the traditions of the great body of the Khojah community Pir Sudr-ud-din came from Khorasan and was an Ismaili Dai or missionary sent by Shah Islam, one of the ancestors of Aga Khan, and the form of Mahomedanism which he taught his converts was the Shah Imamee Ismaeli faith.

* The first Arabian conquest was as early as A D. 715, but in 750 the Mohamedan conquerors were driven out, and Scinde appears not again to have come under Mahomedan dominion till the 12th century of our era (Elphinistone's History of India p. 258-263 and Appendix, Tit. "Scinde" p. 682.

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According to the relators and plaintiffs, and those of the Khojah community of Bombay who side with them Pir Sudr-ud-din was a Suni, whose place of residence was Mooltan, and who converted the first Khojahs to Suni Mahomedanism.

The term "Khojah" means both "the honourable or worshipful person" and "the disciple." Its full meaning as applied to the community converted by Pir Sudr-ud-din, may perhaps, fairly be taken to amount to this, "the honourable or worshipful converts." It is in this sense that it is to be found used in Von Hammer's History of the Assassins (p. 75), where he relates how one Khojah Mahomed Sheristani, having been sent from Alamut on some embassy to the Court of one of the Seljukian Sultans of Irak at Rhai was there massacred "on leaving the presence" by the ferocious Suni populace of that orthodox city, who rose en masse against the Ismaeli convert or disciple.

From Scinde the Khojah conversion would appear to have spread into Cutch, thence into Kattiawar, and through Guzerat to Bombay. In the present time, Khojah communities are to be found in almost all the large trading communities of Western India and on the seaboard of the Indian Ocean. The Khojahs are all, as a rule, engaged either in retail trade or commerce and frequently prosecute both with considerable success.

In Scinde, as appears from the evidence in this case they number 2,800 houses of families; in Kattiawar about 5,000 families. In Cutch and Guzerat the numbers are not stated, but must be considerable; Bhooj, the capital of Cutch, having long been one of their principal seats. In Zanzibar (on the African Coast) there are 450 Khojah families—in Muscat 400 —and so on. In Bombay and its immediate neighbourhood, they may probably number about 1,400 families, of whom about 400 side with the relators and plaintiffs, the rest with Aga Khan.

Beyond the limits of Bombay and its immediate neighbourhood no difference of religious opinion appears to prevail among the Khojahs. All or the overwhelming majority of the Khojah community in all parts of India and the East, except

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Bombay, are the staunch adherents of Aga Khan: to take an illustration (which seems to be quite a fair one) from the evidence of witness No. XXIII it appears that 445 out of the 450 families who compose the Khojah community of Zanzibar have recently signed a paper of adhesion to the Aga and to the views he is understood to represent.

Wherever a Khojah community is to be found, however small, its organization is the same: it has a Jumat, a Jumat-Khana, a Mukni, and a Kamaria.

The "Jumat" is the 'congregation of the people,' the assembly in council of all the adult male members of the Khojah community of the place.

The "Jumat Khana" is the council-hall, of the community.

The "Mukhi" is the treasurer or steward, and the "kamaria" the accountant.

It may as well be mentioned here (as it is the clear result of the evidence and effectually disposes of the 2nd, 3rd and a portion of the 6th clause of the prayer of this information and bill) that these two functionaries, the Mukhi and Kamaria, are not, according to the usage of the Khojah community, elected for any ascertained and fixed period but appear to hold their office (if they wish so to do) as long as they give satisfaction. Numerous instances were deposed to in which they continued to hold office for several consecutive years—sometimes for life—and one instance at least, was mentioned in which the father had been succeeded in office by his son (see witnesses No. XVIII., No. XIX., No. XXIV., and No. XXV). Besides these local Mukhis and Kamarias proof was given that in Scinde and Kattiawar (it may also be the case elsewhere) provincial Kamarias are appointed by and hold office under the Imam, for the time being, of the Ismailis. The duty of these functionaries is to collect and forward for transmission to the Imam, wherever he may chance to reside, the contributions raised on his account by the Khojah community.

It is conclusively shown, partly by direct evidence of account books going back considerably beyond the commencement of the

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present century (those of Scinde to A.D. 1772, those of Kattiawar to A.D. 1782) partly by evidence of tradition in the caste or sect as reliable as any other evidence of tradition adduced in this case (quite as reliable, for instance as that which represents Pir Sudr-ud-din to have been the original converter of the Khojahs) that, for a time "beyond which the memory of man runneth not to the contrary"—from the origin—from the very outset of their separate existence as a distinctive community,—the Khojahs have been in the habit of transmitting, as to their "Sirkar Sahib" (lord and master) voluntary offerings (Zacat) out of religious feeling (Dhurm) to the Imam for the time being of the Ismailis, whom they revered as their Moorshed or spiritual head.

The mass of evidence adduced on this point is too strong to be resisted. Even the witnesses called for the relators and plaintiffs were compelled to admit, that, according to the uniform reputation and tradition in the Khojah caste, their fathers "from the beginning" had been in the habit of making voluntary contributions to the fathers of Aga Khan: while the positive evidence adduced on the other side makes it impossible to entertain a reasonable doubt that the Khojahs have throughout been in the habit of sending periodical collections to the Imams of the Ismailis in Persia, in the earlier and ruder times in the form of coin or treasure sent by special messengers (called "Rais") in leathern bags called ("Jowlies") afterwards, as commercial facilities increased, by means of hoondies (bills of exchange) principally drawn upon and cashed at Muscat.

(See especially evidence of witnesses No. XXIII. No. XX., XXIV. and XXV. and the very numerous documents containing translation of entries from the account-books of the various Jumats of Bombay, Scinde, Kattiawar, etc., which were put in these respective witnesses and filed as exhibits on behalf of the defendants).

Not only were the Khojahs, from the first, in the habit of transmitting contributions to the Imams of the Ismailis, but it was also, from the origin, a frequent practice with them, to make pilgrimages into Persia for the sake of beholding and doing homage to these their spiritual chiefs. This practice also (called

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pilgrimage to "Durkhana." i.e. to the principal residence for the time being of the Imam) is shown not only by the admissions of the witnesses for the defendants, to have been according to uniform tradition in the caste, a practice observed by the Khojahs from the earliest times of their existence as a separate community: "From all time our fathers used to go on pilgrimage to Durkhana."

One witness (No. XX) gave a narrative of a pilgrimage of this kind that he made in 1836-37 to Kerman where Aga Khan at the time happened to be residing. The witness, his father and mother, a brother, and two sisters, with a party of about 100 other Khojah pilgrims, sailed from Bombay to Bunder Abbas, a portion of the Persian Coast, near the outlet of the Persian Gulf. This body of pilgrims had offerings with them, in money and rich stuffs, to the collective value of about £2,000 sterling of our money. They stayed some time at Bunder Abbas, waiting for other Khojahs to collect there from other quarters before starting on their tedious and somewhat perilous journey of 21 days across the mountain ranges of Southern Persia from Bunder Abbas to Kerman. At length, about 500 Khojahs having collected from all parts at Bunder Abbas the caravan was formed and they made their way to Kerman. There they were lodged, at the expense of the Imam, in a large rude building, built round three sides of a great open court. They stayed in Kerman about a month or six weeks, during which period, having first made their offerings, they were admitted ten or twelve times to the presence of the Imam. "The Aga," says the witness, "sat on his musnud; we beheld his face, kissed his hand and retired." It was for that they had come and with that they were well satisfied.

The pilgrimage and the presents cost the witness's father about £500 of our money—a sum which, as the man was only a dealer in grain and dried fruits in a moderate way of business, seems to the modern English mind a somewhat considerable outlay to have made for such a purpose. But the West can never understand the East, especially the modern and mercantile West. To an Englishman of Chaucer's day such an

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expenditure for such an object might have appeared more intelligible, provided, of course, that the pilgrimage was made to a shrine or saint of Christendom not of Paynimrie or Heathenesse.

It is not necessary to go into the details of the different fees—fees on birth, on death, on marriage, at the new moons, etc., of which (as the evidence of the witnesses and of the exhibits last above referred to shows) the customary or voluntary contributions of the Khojahs to their Imam, were made up. The principal was the "Dussoon," a percentage on income: This payment has throughout been and still is paid by all Khojahs except those of Bombay. In Bombay it has for some time been resisted, and is now paid here not as a rule, but as an exception.

It is more important to observe that all these payments are made under headings, such as "Sirkar-Sahib," "Pir Salamut," etc., which, though varied in form, all indicate one and the same appropriation; an appropriation, namely, to the Imam of the Ismailis, as the Moorshed or spiritual head of the Khojahs.

All the offerings or contributions of the Khojah community appears, from the evidence, to have this primary destination. It is out of the fund thus raised, after consultation with the agent (Warras) of the Imam, that the necessary local public expenses of the various communities are defrayed.

The witness No. XXVIII., a Bombay Khojah and one of those who had never paid the Dussoon, though he was in the habit of paying the other customary fees, said that he paid them "as a matter of Dhurm or religious feeling," "I pay them," he said, "for the Aga; if I knew they went to any one else except our Moorshed, (Spiritual Head) I would not pay anything at all."

Allarukia Soomar (No. XVIII.), the Mukhi of the Khojah Jumat of Bombay, a very respectable and reliable witness, said: "It has been ordained from the beginning that whatever funds are collected should go to the Moorshed—the Moorshed and the Jumat (the spiritual head and the assembly of the Khojahs), are

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identical. If the Mukhi and Kamaria did not hand over the monies to the Aga, the Khojah community would pay no more fees."

Witness No. XX. said: "All the expenses of the estate 'account,' of 'the estate expenditure account' and of the 'Jumat Khana account,' are defrayed out of fees paid on 'Sirkar-Sahib's' (the Imam's) account." And the truth of this statement is completely borne out by the voluminous translated entries from the books which have been filed in this suit among the exhibits for the defendants.

To the same effect is the evidence of witnesses No. XXIV. and No. XXV. This latter witness, the Kamaria-general for the province of Kattiawar says: "All the Jumat Khanas in Kattiawar are built and purchased by the consent of the Warras (agents) of the Aga out of Sirkar-Sahib's money, and are entered in an account called the 'Jumat Khana account.' All the Khojahs in Kattiawar know that their contributions go (primarily) to the Aga, otherwise they would not pay a pie."

It is not necessary to cite further from the evidence on this point, a full consideration of the whole mass of it (and very voluminous it is) has led me clearly to the two following conclusions:—

1. That, except the comparatively small numbers of Bombay Khojahs who form the party of the relators and plaintiffs the Khojah community would make no contributions at all for public or caste purposes except in the name and primarily on account of their Sirkar-Sahib's the Imam of the Ismailis.

2. That the great bulk of the so-called public property of the Khojah community, both in Bombay and elsewhere, has been acquired by monies paid out of this Sirkar-Sahib's fund with the approval and consent of the properly constituted local agents of Aga Khan and his predecessors.

As a rule the Khojahs have no musjids or mosques; in fact the only Khojah musjid till very recently in existence, was that erected in A.D. 1822 in the Khojah burial-ground of Bombay. The Nimmaz or daily prayers among the Khojahs are repeated,

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or as the approved phrase seems to be performed in their Jumat Khanas: and in order to complete the proof of the close and peculiar connexion subsisting between the Khojahs and their Moorshed, the Imam of the Ismailis, it may here be mentioned that the pedigree from Ali through Ismail of the Imam for the time being, is chanted three times a day as part of the service of the daily prayer or Nimmaz in a form of words called the "Dowa" throughout all the Jumat Khanas of the Khojah community, including the Jumat Khana of Bombay.

Such then in its origin and its past and present relations with the hereditary Imams of the Ismailis appears to me upon the evidence to be and to have been the Khojah community.

(12) The next point to consider is—what have been the relations of Aga Khan himself with the particular Jumat, or community, of the Khojahs of Bombay?

His first recorded intercourse with them was one of controversy and strife. In 1829 the same party that are now represented by the relators and plaintiffs, headed by Hubbib Ibrahim, the father of Ahmed Hubibbhoy (the most active and influential among the present relators and plaintiffs) resisted the customary payment of the Dussoon or percentage on income. Aga Khan in order to overcome this opposition sent to Bombay as his special agent one Mirza Abdool Cassim accompanied by a very energetic lady, the Aga's maternal grandmother, Marie-Bibi, who herself appears to have harangued the Bombay Kojahs in Jumat Khana assembled, and with very considerable effect, in support of the claims of their Moorshed. (Witness No. XVII). It was in the course of these proceedings that the Bill of A.D. 1829 was filed for the purpose of enforcing these payments by a decree of the late Supreme Court. Aga Khan (in the 4th paragraph of his answer) has denied that this suit was filed with his authority; but a power of attorney sealed with the seal of the Aga (and put in and filed as Exhibit D.) clearly recites "that as in Bombay some reprobate persons had laid the foundations of disobedience, it is necessary that he (Mirza Abdool) do bring an action in the English Court." Authority having been

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thus formally given, the suit was filed, but it was not proceeded with; the bill as appears by Exhibit I.) having been dismissed for want of prosecution on the 22nd July, 1830.

I do not think much importance can fairly be attached to the circumstance of filing this bill. Aga Khan, a Persian nobleman, then resident in Persia, was in all probability very imperfectly informed as to the inferences that would be drawn in an English Court from the attempt to enforce by legal process such payments as these. As he did not prosecute the suit, the fair and reasonable inference is that, on being more correctly informed, he found he had adopted a mistaken course, and consequently abandoned the proceedings. What is certain is that after abandoning the suit he directed the recusants to be summoned before the Jumat of Bombay, and, on their continued refusal to pay the fees demanded of them, to be turned out of caste. Accordingly in A.D. 1830 Hubbib Ibrahim and his partizan called from their then numbers the Barbhaie, or twelve brethren, were outcasted by the whole Khojah Jumat of Bombay in Jumat Khana assembled. (See the evidence of witness No. XVIII). In A.D. 1835, they, on their own petition and by the direction of the Aga, were readmitted on condition of paying (which they did) the arrears of contribution due from them, and engaging in future to pay all the customary fees that should thenceforth be demanded of them on account of the Sirkar-Sahib.

From this time till the Aga's arrival in Bombay in 1864 there is no record of any further disturbances in the community.

During the absence of the Aga in Calcutta in 1846-47 and 48, a litigation was carried on and concluded, which again divided the Khojahs of Bombay into two hostile parties; it was the well known case as to the rights of female inheritance among the Khojahs (called Sarjun-Meer-Ali's case) in which Sir Erskine Perry, in 1847, pronounced a learned judgment (founded on the evidence of caste usage and custom) against the rights of Khojah females to inherit according to the rules of Mahomedan law—(Perry's Oriental Cases, p. 110).

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In this litigation the Aga, then represented in Bombay, by his brother Mahomed Bauker Khan, had endeavoured to uphold the rule of inheritance as laid down in the Koran. Hubbib Ibrahim and the party of the Barbhaie took an active part on the other side.

This was the commencement of fresh feuds, leading, in 1848, to a second excommunication of Hubbib Ibrahim and his supporters, followed by a general secession of the Barbhaie party from the body of the Khojah community—the seceders establishing themselves in a new Jumat Khana in a different part of the native town.

In 1850 a deplorable event arising out of these feuds occurred in the Jumat Khana at Mahim. Four Khojahs of the Barbhaie party were murdered there by several Khojahs of the opposite faction, nineteen of whom were tried for the offence before the late Supreme Court in the December sessions of 1850 and four capitally sentenced and hanged. (Witness No. XX).

From the reluctant admissions of witness No. XX., himself one of those who were arranged, but acquitted, on that occasion, it sufficiently appears that the bodies of these four murderers, after having been given up to the Khojah community of Bombay, were treated with undue funeral honours with the connivance, if not by the direction, of Aga Khan—a circumstance which shows the demoralising effects of religious zeal, and reflects the deepest discredit on the first defendant.

In A.D. 1850 the information and bill was filed, of which the present information and bill purports to be the continuation, and in A.D. 1851 Sir Erskine Perry pronounced the Declaration of Rights, to which reference has already been made.

This had the effect of producing a state of peace in the community, which lasted unbroken for upwards of ten years. The outcasted were re-admitted to caste; the new Jumat Khana of the seceders was abandoned, and all went smoothly until, on the 20th October, 1861, Aga Khan thought fit to publish the paper, a translation of which is printed in Schedule B to his answer, and is also filed as Exhibit No. 19.

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In this paper Aga Khan expresses his desire to bring the Khojahs to conform to the practices "of the Imamujah creed of his holy ancestors," (in other words of the creed of the Shia-Imamee Ismailis) in respect of "marriages, ablutions, and funeral ceremonies." He states that having seen it in print that the Khojahs are Sunis, and that a certain person (meaning himself) is "peremptorily inviting them to embrace the Imamujah creed," he has prepared this paper in order that (as under English Government the exercise of all religions is free) the Khojahs who believe in the Shia-Imamee Ismaili faith, may now act openly according to the practices of that religion, "which their ancestors held secretly" especially as regards the celebration of marriages, funerals, etc. The paper ends thus. "Now he who may be willing to obey my orders shall write his name in this book" (the paper is written at the commencement of a book with blank leaves for signatures) "that I may know him."

The proximate cause of preparing and publishing this paper, is stated, in the paper itself to have been the appearance in print of statements that the Khojahs were Sunis and that Aga Khan was attempting by coercion to make Shias of them. This alleged reason is likely enough in itself and is borne out by the evidence of witness No. XVIII. who says "In consequence of certain newspaper articles stating that the Khojahs are Sunis, the Aga got a writing prepared: he told me" (the witness was Mukhi of the Bombay Jumat) "he should like to see who of the Khojahs were Sunis and who were Shias; those who were Shias should come and sign that writing."

Accordingly the paper lay for signature at the house of one of the Aga's sons in the native town at Bhendy Bazar and was signed by some 1,700 male, but not all adult Khojahs of Bombay, Salsette, and Mahim.

Copies were circulated among the Khojah communities of other parts of India and the East—in Scinde, Kattiawar, Cutch, Zanzibar and other places, in all of which, as might be expected from the devoted adherence of all Khojahs except a small minority in Bombay, to their Sirkar-Sahib, it, as a rule, received an almost unanimous adhesion. In fact the only exception disclosed by the

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evidence was that spoken to in cross-examination by witness No. XXV—the refusal to sign the writing by about 20 Khojah families at Mowa, a large cotton exporting port near Bhownugger in Kattiawar. The alleged reason for their refusal to sign was, that by doing so they might offend those members of the Khojah community of Bombay who adhered to the relators and plaintiffs and with whom they had a large and lucrative business connection. They said: "We are Shias already; why should we sign this writing? and they refused to do so, or to give up their long-established practice of marrying before the Suni Kazee. (Witness No. XXV).

It is not unimportant clearly to bear in mind the precise nature of this writing. It is not, as it has been occasionally but incorrectly termed, a profession of Shia faith. It is a mere declaration or pledge on the part of those Khojahs who, in matters of religious opinion, are already Shias or rather Shia Imamee Ismailis, that they will, from the time of signing it, perform their funeral and marriage ceremonies, not according to the Suni form, as it is admitted they had heretofore done, but according to the Shia form. It is an engagement that those who have all along been Shias or Shia-Imamee Ismailis in religious opinion, shall thenceforth be so also in all the departments of religious practice.

Such as it was, however, it was regarded as a fresh declaration of war by the party of the relators and plaintiffs. It led at once to a refusal by that party any longer to pay the customary fees and offerings to the Sirkar-Sahib. It led further to the filing of the present Information and Bill, (filed originally in June 1862 as amended in September 1862), the great object of which, as already intimated, is to obtain from this court an authoritative declaration, that the Khojah community in its origin was throughout has been, and still is, Suni, and that no Shia (a fortiori that no Shia Imamee Ismaili) is entitled to any share, interest or voice in the management of the trust, or public property belonging to the Khojah community of Bombay.

These proceedings of the relators and plaintiffs and their party led to certain retaliatory proceedings on the other side

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which, as they were subsequent in date to the filing of this suit cannot, as already intimated at the hearing, be regarded as affecting the legal status of the relators and plaintiffs. As, however, they have been deposed to by several witnesses and largely commented on by counsel on both sides; as they are requisite to complete the narrative of the relative position of the contending parties; as moreover they furnish the best illustration of the mode in which the process of outcasting is actually carried on in the Khojah community under the superintendence of Aga Khan, it will be desirable not to pass them over without mention.

On the 16th August A.D. 1862, a meeting of the whole Khojah Jumat of Bombay was solemnly convened in the Jumat Khana. This meeting, the relators and plaintiffs and their partizans, though duly summoned thereto, did not attend; neither was Aga Khan there, nor any specially constituted agent of his, though there can be no manner of doubt that all that was done at that meeting, and all that followed was done in concert with him and by his direction. At this meeting a form of notice was unanimously agreed to dated August 23 (Set out in para 22 of the answer of the first defendant) by which it was intimated to the party of the relators and plaintiffs, that if they consented to abide by all present and future rules framed by the whole Jumat for the guidance and benefit of the community, and to pay all fees and contributions due from them up to that day, then the Jumat would receive them with joy as brethren—if not, then within twenty-one days from the presentation of the notice, they would be turned out of caste.

After the expiration of the twenty-one days the required conditions not having been complied with, the Jumat again solemnly assembled in the Jamat Khana. Again none of the party of the relators and plaintiffs, though again duly summoned, were present; nor was Aga Khan there, nor any special agent of his. At this second meeting, by the unanimous vote of all the Khojahs in Jumat assembled the relators and plaintiffs and their adherents were solemnly turned out of caste, and have remained outcasted ever since.

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In February 1864, a further and final step was taken by turning the officiating Suni Moola out of the old mosque in the Khojah burial-ground, since which worship in the old mosque has been carried on by Shia Moolas and according to Shia forms.

Since these transactions the party of the relators and plaintiffs have been in the occupation of a separate Jumat Khana and have opened for themselves a separate musjid:—

(13) We now pass the consideration of the question as a Sudr-ud-din was, and what was the form of Mahomedanism to Surdordin was, and what was the form of Mahomedanism to which he converted the Khojahs.

According to the tradition uniformly prevailing among the great bulk of the Khojah community, among all Khojahs in short, except that numerically small proportion of them who are represented by the Relators and Plaintiffs—Pir Sudr-ud-din came from Khorasan as a Dai or missionary of one of the ancestors of Aga Khan (Shah Islam Shah) and converted the first Khojahs to the Shia Imamee Ismaili form of Mahomedanism.

On the other hand the Relators and Plaintiffs maintain that Pir Sudr-ud-din was a Suni Mussulman, a native of and resident in Mooltan, and that he converted the Khojahs to the Suni form of Mahomedanism.

Two witnesses were called—No. IX. by the Relators and Plaintiffs, and No. XXII. by the defendants, both of whom were Syuds, and both, as they deposed, lineal descendants of Pir Sudr-ud-din, who each gave exactly opposite accounts of the religious opinions of that converter of the Khojahs. Witness No. IX whose ancestors had, as he said, lived in Surat for the last 100 years, declared that he himself and all his progenitors including Pir Sudr-ud-din were, and always had been, Sunis. Witness No. XXII., whose family had, according to his statement, been for 200 years in Surat, declared with equal confidence and with equal apparent credibility that he, and they, and all his progenitors, including Pir Sudr-ud-din, were and always had been, Shias of the Imamee-Ismaili persuasion.

The testimony of one of these witnesses may be set off

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against that of the other, subject only to the remark that the testimony of the Shia witness No. XXII is in accordance with, while that of witness No. IX opposes, the tradition of the greatly preponderating majority of the Khojah community.

But there are three considerations which lead me to the conclusion that the truth is with the majority.

The "first" consideration is this: If Pir Sudr-ud-din had been, as the relators and plaintiffs allege, "a Suni teacher who converted the first Khojahs to Suni Mahomedanism, he must have stood forth before the Khojah community as the great object to Khojah veneration, with nothing between him and the Apostle of God. In such case the homage, the devotion, the pilgrimages which have been proved to have been made from the beginning by the Khojas to the Imams of the Ismailis, would naturally have been paid to the holy tomb of the great founder and saint who had converted the Khojahs to the religion of Islam.

Now nothing of this kind is or ever has been the case. Pir Sudr-ud-din lies buried in North-Western India at Ootch in Bhawulpore, but no pilgrimages are made, no extraordinary devotion is shown, to his tomb. Not a single Khojah witness has been produced on either side who has ever made a visit to the tomb of Pir Sudr-ud-din. The only witness who gave any information about it at all was No. XXIV., a witness for the defendants. He, indeed, on cross-examination said that he had known a few Khojahs of Scinde who had been to Ootch and told him that the Pir had a fine durga or tomb there kept up by Syuds, descendents of Pir Sudr-ud-din, who were all Shias: he himself, the witness added, had occasionally paid some trifling dues for keeping the tomb in repair; but it was not common for Khojahs to go and visit that tomb—he did not know why.

Now this in my judgment, is a state of things quite incompatible with the theory that Pir Sudr-ud-din, of his own mere motion as an independent founder and originator, had converted the ancestors of the Khojahs to the Suni faith of Islam. On the other hand, it is exactly what might reasonably be expected, if the tradition of the great body of the Khojah community be well

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founded, viz., that Pir Sudr-ud-din was a mere Dai or Missionary of a living, though distant, Imam of the Ismailis, to whom, as to a living concrete object of respect and worship, he from the first directed the spiritual allegiance and veneration of the new converts.

The second consideration is this: as already shown, it is proved as clearly as any circumstance of the kind is capable of proof among a people where oral tradition supplies the place of written records, that the Khojah community from the beginning made pilgrimages and paid contributions to the hereditary Imams of the Ismailis. Now how is this clearly established fact to be accounted? On the supposition that Pir Sudr-ud-din was a Dai or Missionary of the then Imam of the Ismailis, the explanation is clear and simple; but if this be denied, what other explanation is to be given of the facts? Was there a subsequent conversion and a second founder? This is not even pretended, and, if there had been some tradition of it, it would certainly have been preserved, whereas no such tradition exists or is pretended to exist. When one allegation supported by an exceedingly strong and uniform current of tradition, clearly explains a proved state of facts, which no other suggested hypothesis will account for, it is surely not enough for those who dispute that allegation, simply to set up a counter-allegation, supported by a far weaker aurren of tradition, which instead of explaining the proved acts, makes them unaccountable. If Pir Sudr-ud-din was a Suni and converted the first Khojahs to Suniism, how are we to account for the well-established fact that the Khojahs, from the beginning, have been bound by ties of close spiritual allegiance, evidenced by outward acts of homage and devotion, to the hereditary Imams of the Ismailis

The "third" consideration arises out of the character of the ancient religious books of the Khojahs, and especially of the "Dussautar," the chief of them.

Now, by a tradition long universal in the Khojah community, and never, I believe, called in question by any Khojah, till the appearance in the witness box during the progress of this suit of two or three of the more zealous witnesses for the re-

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lators and plaintiffs—(See the evidence of witness No. I and witness No. XI.), the author-ship of the Dussautar is ascribed to Pir Sudr-ud-din.

If it be not his, then the same difficulty arises as was suggested under the last head of observation. If the original converter of the Khojahs were not the composer, or (which for this purpose amounts to the same thing) the introducer to the sect as a leading book of religious teaching, of the Dussautar, how comes it that that book has been from the beginning the accepted scripture, so to speak, of the Khojah sect?

That it has been so, and with the exception of the party of the relators and plaintiffs, still is so—is abundantly clear on the evidence. The present information and bill (in its first paragraph) adopting as true the statement to that effect continued in the Information and Bill of 1850, alleges "that the Dussautar is invariably read over Khojahs who are at the point of death." The evidence taken in this case proves incontestibly that in all the Jumat Khanas of the Khojahs throughout India and the East, "including that of Bombay, the Dussautar" is publicly and periodically read as a matter of stated religious observance.

If Pir Sudr-ud-din, according to the vastly preponderating tradition in the community, composed this work, or if he introduced it as a work of principal religious authority to the first Khojah converts, the explanations of its continuous and all but universal use in and by the Khojah community is easy and plain. On any other supposition it remains inexplicable, unless indeed the relators and plaintiffs had come prepared with proof, not a shadow of which have they even attempted to give as to when, how, and by whose instrumentality, if not that of Pir Surdordin, this book became adopted by the Khojahs as the most sacred volume of their religious literature.

It is impossible to evade the force of these considerations; it is impossible not to see that the evidence on this point leads, as the only reasonable inference, to the conclusion that the Dussautar, if not composed by Pir Sudr-ud-din, which is the more

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probable supposition, was at all events introduced by him as a leading religious tract or text-book for the use of the first converts among the Khojahs.

Regarding, then Pir Sudr-ud-din as the author, compiler or adopter of the Dussautar, what is the inference that arises from the nature of that work as to the nature of his religious opinions,

What is the Dussautar? It is a treatise in 10 chapters containing (as indeed its name imports) the account of ten avatars or incarnations, each dealt with in a separate chapter. The first 9 of these chapters treat of the nine incarnations of the Hindu god Vishnu; the 10th chapter treats of the incarnation of the "Most Holy Ali."

The negative conclusion is clear at once. No Suni could have composed compiled, or adopted such a work as this; the idolatry of the first 9 chapters—the semi-deification of Ali implied in the 10th chapter, alike make this utterly impossible.

On the other hand it is precisely such a book as a Dai or Missionary of the Ismailis would compose or adopt if he wished to convert a body of not very learned Hindoos to the Imamee-Ismaili faith. It precisely carries out what it has already been shown were the standing instructions to the Dais of the Ismailis, viz.—to procure conversions by assuming as in great part true, the religious stand-point of the intended convertite. This is exactly what this book does: it assumes the nine incarnations of Vishnu to be true as far as they go, but not the whole truth, and then supplements the imperfect Vishnuvite system by superadding the cardinal doctrine of the Ismailis, the incarnation and coming manifestation (or Avatar) of the "Most Holy Ali," when the book is read in the Jumat Khanas of the Khojahs, it is this 10th chapter (as appears from the evidence) which is alone now-a-days seriously attended to. When that chapter is commenced, the congregation of the people rises and remains standing till it is concluded, making profound reverences whenever the reader pronounces the name of the 'Most Holy Ali' (Mowla or Motizir Ali).

The above considerations leave me in no doubt as to the

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only reasonable conclusion to be drawn from the evidence on the point immediately under discussion: that conclusion is that the preponderating tradition of the Khojah community is substantially correct, that Pir Sudr-ud-din was a Dai or missionary of the hereditary Imams of the Ismailis (probably of Shah Islam Shah) and that he converted the first Khojahs to the Shia Imamee Ismaili form of Mahomedanism.

(14) But then it is said, if this be so, how is it to be accounted for that, from the beginning, the Khojahs in their funeral and in their marriages have followed the practices and the rites of the Suni Mahomedans?

The fact that they have done so is not seriously contested by the defendants, and has been most conclusively established by the evidence adduced on behalf of the relators and plaintiffs.

The answer given to the above question by the defendants is that the Khojahs have observed these practices from the beginning out of "Takiah"—concealment of their own religious views and adoption of alien religious ceremonies out of dread of persecution for religion's sake.

It has already been shown that "Takiah" in this sense, has been uniformly recommended by the teachings and illustrated by the practice of the Shia Imamee Ismailis.

The doctrine and practice of "Takiah" is unknown to the Sunis: as the orthodox and dominant body in Islam they never had occasion for it; but it is frequently practised, as already seen, by the Shias, and it is still more deeply ingrained into the habits of the Ismailis who, of all other sects, have been most obnoxious to the persecution of the fierce and orthodox Sunis.

What the fierceness of Suni bigotry amounts to is a matter difficult to convey adequately by any general terms—it will be better judged of by a single well attested illustration.

The great Emperor Akbar ruled over India from A.D. 1546 to A.D. 1605: and it is well known he was an ardent religious reformer who attempted, if he did not complete, the establishment of an eclectic system that approached pretty nearly to pure Theism. (See Elphinstone's History of India Book IX. chapter

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3, and Akbar Shah's Divine Monotheism, etc., by E. Rehatsek. (Bombay Union Press, 1866).

He was also a great patron of literature, especially Hindoo literature, the principal works of which he caused to be translated from Sanscrit into Persian. Among those employed by the Emperor in these labours was the very learned Suni Moola-Abdool Kadar—whose task it was very much against the grain, to translate for his Imperial patron considerable portions of the Ramayana—the great epic of "those accursed pagans and idolators," as the learned Suni called his Hindoo fellow subjects.

Abdul Kadur has left behind him a species of diary called the "Muntakab-al-Tawarikh," which presents a lively picture of the court, and of the religious projects of Akbar. This diary is often referred to by Mountstuart Elphinstone in his admirable 'History of India under the Mahomedans,' and has lately been in part rendered into English by Mr. Edward Rehatsek, who has now collected into a small volume (Bombay Union Press, 1866) a series of translations from it which had previously appeared in the columns of Native Opinion, a very able periodical conducted by native gentlemen who have received, and illustrate the advantages of on English education. From the diary so translated I take, with omissions, the following notice by Abdul Kadir of the assassination and of what followed the assassination of Moola Ahmad, a celebrated Moola among the Shias, who, by favouring the Emperor's views of religious reform, had drawn down upon himself the especial wrath of the Sunis. "In this year (A.D. 1587) Mirza Fullad Beg Birllas decoyed Moola Ahmad the heretic—who had publicly cursed the companions of the Prophet" (i.e. the three first Caliphs) out of the house and killed him, and the words 'Hurrah for the dirk of steel' as well as him . . . . .

For this crime the assasin was executed, or as Abdul Kadir For this crime the assassin was executed, or as Abdul Kadir expresses it, "attained the rank of martyrdom" in the city of Lahore. He then proceeds thus: "The murdered man survived his murderer only three or four days. After he was buried Sheikh Fayzdy and Sheikh Abdulfazal appointed watchmen over his grave, but as the court went that year to Cashmere, the inhabitant

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of Lahore disinterred one night his stinking carcase and burnt it." (Page 79 of Mr. Rehatsek's Translation). In the above passage breathes the full spirit of the Suni bigot—narrow, and formal, and fierce. If such things could happen under the reign of the great and powerful Akbar, to a Shia who enjoyed his close personal friendship, it may easily be understood what would in all probability have been the lot of the earlier Khojahs, if they had openly professed the hated faith of the Ismailis, and had not resorted to the Suni Kazees for the celebration of their marriages and to the Suni mosques and Moolas for the performance of their funerals.

To do so, indeed, was a matter of convenience, almost of necessity, as well as of Takiah. Even now in wealthy and prosperous Bombay, Shia Moolas, as it appears on the evidence, are not to be found without some difficulty how were the Khojahs, dispersed in remote and rural districts, and who, as the evidence in this case shows, had never any Musjids of their own—how were they to get funeral ceremonies performed at all unless they employed the sole agency they could find at hand—that of the Suni Moolas officiating in the Suni mosques? As regards marriages the principle of convenience was still more strongly in favour of celebrating them before the Suni Kazees, who keep a regular and careful register, capable of supplying easy and authoritative proof of the fact of marriage—a fact which it is so often of great importance to have the means of establishing by legal proof. Add to this the class of motives which in England, ever since the passing of what is called the Dissenter's Marriage Act (6 and 7 Will. IV. c. 85), which came into force on 1st March, 1837 still induce so large a proportion of the dissenting body to marry according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England. From the last Annual Report of the Registrar General of Births, Deaths, and Marriages in England for the year 1864 presented to Parliament in 1866, it appears that out of the whole number of marriages celebrated in places of public worship in England, the proportion of marriages in Churches to those in Dissenting Chapels is 9 to 1. After making due allowance for the marriages which take place, without any

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religious ceremony, in the offices of the Superintendent Registrar, this proportion is so greatly in excess of that borne by the Church of England, to the Dissenting population, that it shows, as the Registrar General observes, that large numbers of Dissenters willingly accept the church ritual in the performance of their marriage ceremonies. ,

Of course it would be preposterous to infer from this that the Dissenters so marrying conform, in other respects to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England—the fact being notoriously the reverse. It only shows that partly from the influence of long prevailing practice, partly from notions of fashion and respectability, a great number of Dissenters prefer being married by the regular functionary and in the orthodox form—by a clergyman of the establishment in the parish church.

Motives of this class operate quite as strongly in the East as in the West, and it will be the strongest possible proof of the influence of the Aga over the Khojah community, if he ultimately succeeds in inducing them to abandon the long established and convenient practice of celebrating their marriages before the Suni Kazees.

As to the argument that, though "Takiah" might account for such compliance with Suni practices in times of persecution, yet it could not account for their continuance after the dread of persecution had disappeared—this reasoning can have no force with those who consider the all but omnipotent power of use and wont in the ordinary usages of social life, and who reflect on the long continuance of practices and institutions (and that not only in the East) long after the reason of their first establishment, and all sufficient grounds for their perpetuation have passed away. ,

It appears to me that, in the presence of such considerations as these, the established fact of the performance by the Khojahs, from the beginning of their funeral and marriage rites after the fashion of the Sunis, has no appreciable bearing on the question as to what, from the beginning, were their religious opinions and tenets.

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(15) It is much the same with the inference endeavoured to be drawn from the erection and maintenance, since A.D. 1822 of the Suni mosque in the old Khojah burial ground of Bombay. That this mosque was dedicated as a Suni mosque (though without the usual Suni dedicatory inscription containing the names of the first three Caliphs) and that it was used and attended by a certain limited portion of the Khojah community of Bombay for the celebration of worship in Suni form—is quite clear upon the evidence. But this does not touch the question, even of the religious belief of the bulk of the Khojah population of Bombay from 1822 to 1864, far less the sole question with which this enquiry is really concerned, viz., the religious belief of the Khojahs in their origin as a distinct community.

This mosque was built in the old Khojah burial ground, and by the great majority of the Khojah community of Bombay, it was only used, as the evidence clearly shows, for funeral purposes. The small minority—the party of the relators and plaintiffs—the wealthy Khojahs of Bombay who for a couple of generations or so have adopted the respectable and orthodox faith of the Sunis—they, indeed, habitually frequented this mosque for the purposes of religious worship. But the mass of the Khojah community of Bombay still continued, as of old, to worship in their Jumat Khana, where as the evidence shows, they prayed in Shia fashion with their arms to their sides, bowed their heads in prayer on moulds made of the dust of Kerbela, occassionally partook of water mixed with that sacred earth, and three times a day recited in the Dowa, the long bead roll of the ancestors of their "Moorshed," Aga Khan, the hereditary chief of the Ismailis.

As, for funeral purposes, the whole community used this mosque and also the services of the officiating Suni Moola, it was but natural and reasonable that that functionary should be paid (as in fact he was paid) by the Mukhi and Kamaria on account of the Jumat, but from such a payment as this it would be preposterous, in the face of such facts as have been established by evidence in this case, to infer that the Suni form of Mahomedanism was or ever had been the religion of the Khojah community in Bombay.

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(16) From the above circumstances then (performance i.e. of funerals and marriages in Suni fashion) and the existence for 42 years in Bombay of a Suni mosque attended by a part of the Bombay Khojahs no clear inference can be drawn as to the original religious opinions of the Khojah community. There are, however, other practices of a religious nature, from the observance or non-observance of which by the Khojahs the inference as to their religious opinion is almost irresistibly strong.

Take the Hadj, or pilgrimage to Mecca, for instance. If there be one religious duty which more than any other is regarded as imperative on all Sunis having the means and ability to fulfil it, it is the Hadj or pilgrimage to Mecca. Once at least in his life every Suni who can afford to do is bound by every principle of religious duty to visit the spot, which to Sunis is the most sacred in the whole habitable globe. That the Sunis of India are not less zealous than those of other parts of the East in the performance of this duty is clearly proved by the vast stream of pilgrims which, except during the prevalence of the South Western Monsoon, makes its way from all the large ports of India across the Arabian Sea to Jeddah, and thence to Mecca.

Now what is the case with the Khojahs? Why, the evidence is that not more than eight or ten Khojahs in all can be named who from any part of India and the East have ever made the Hadj or pilgrimage to Mecca; and yet these same people, according to the same evidence go in hundreds, nay in thousands, to Kerbela, a pilgrimage quite as difficult, costly, and dangerous as that to Mecca, and which, though regarded by Shias as a pious duty is regarded by Sunis, as a superstitious act of folly, even if it be not a positively prohibited and unlawful practice.

And then what is to be said of the prayers performed three times a day, (not five times) in all the Jumat Khanas of the Khojahs, and with arms held down to the sides, not crossed on the breast; of the prostrations on moulds made of the dust of Kerbela, the solemn drinking at stated anniversaries of water mixed with the dust of Kerbela—of the refusal to mingle in

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the Suni mummeries of the Mohurrum, the mourning at home or in their Jumat Khanas over the memory of Hoossein, the "Shchad" or martyr—the martyr done to death by those whom the Sunis venerate as the lawful Caliphs or successors of the Apostle of God?

The people who do these things—the people who omit to perform the Hadj but who crowd to Kerbela—the people who are zealous for the performance of all the most distinctive religious practices of the Sunis, these people are not and cannot be Sunis—they may be either Shias, or Shia Imamee Ismailis—and the evidence in this case clearly shows they are the latter.

One final proof may be adduced on this point, and that is the practice of making pilgrimages to Durkhana—a practice which, as has already been shown, was habitual with the Khojahs from the beginning. Until Aga Khan left that country in 1839-40 these pilgrimages were always made to some place or other in Persia, the country in which from the fall of Alamut till the flight of Aga Khan, the hereditary chiefs of the Ismailis have throughout as a rule resided. Now, if there be one thing more than another which a Suni religiously avoids, it is the setting his foot without compulsion, on the heretical soil of Persia. A striking illustration of this is to be found in a work which I have always regarded as one of the most instructive and entertaining in the whole range of Oriental Literature—"the Autobiography of the Emperor Baber," the celebrated conqueror and founder of the Mogul dynasty (1 vol. 4, to, London, 1826) translated partly by Dr. Leyden but principally by Mr. William Erskine—the latter the son-in-law of Sir James Macintosh and the father of the present accomplished member of the Bombay Council—the Honourable Claudius Erskine. In a note to the 244th page of that most interesting work Mr. Erskine writes as follows: "An Usbek Moola (from Bokhara) whom I consulted" (in Bombay) "had just made the pilgrimage to Mecca. On my enquiring if he had passed through Persia, he expressed great horror. I found that to avoid touching the soil of Persia, he had gone from Bokhara to Bhokan, thence to Cashgar, thence to Astrakhan thence by the Crimea to Constantinople. He then

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went by sea to Alexandria and joined the caravan of Cairo. I saw him in Bombay whether he had come from Jeddah, after making the Hadj. He was then preparing to return home by Delhi, Lahore and Peshawar in order to avoid coming into contact with the Persian Shias."

And yet the Court is asked to believe that a community which was from the beginning in the habit of making pilgrimages to various parts of Persia was also from the beginning Suni and this too, though the object of those pilgrimages was to pay devout homage to the hereditary Imam of the Ismailis, a personage whom all orthodox Sunis regard as a very chief and prince of heretics.

It is unnecessary to add anything more. The clear conclusion at which I have arrived upon a full consideration of the evidence before me is this—that the Khojahs never were Sunis, but that from the beginning they have been, and (with the exception of the relators and plaintiffs and their followers in Bombay) still are Shias of the Imamee Ismaili persuasion.

(17) And this in effect disposes of the whole case against the relators and plaintiffs. Fully conceding to Mr. Scoble the authority of the cases and dicta he cited on this point, it appears to me that they are not applicable to the present case. This is not a case in which the plaintiff has mistaken his remedy, but one in which he has failed in his proof. The relators and plaintiffs in this case are quite right in the standpoint they have assumed, viz., that the Khojah sect is a community held together and distinguished by certain religious opinions. Where they have failed, is in proving that these religious opinions are those of the Suni Mahomedans.

The Court is now in a position to give an adequate description of the Khojah sect; it is a sect of people whose ancestors were Hindu in original; which was converted to and has throughout abided in the faith of the Shia Imamee Ismailis; and which has always been and still is bound by ties of spiritual allegiance to the hereditary Imams of the Ismailis.

In order to enjoy the full privileges of membership in the Khojah community all the terms of the above description must

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be complied with; a person more especially, who is not a Shia of the Imamee Ismaili persuasion is, to use, with a reversed application, the language of the 5th paragraph of the prayer, "not entitled unto, nor ought he to have any share or interest" in the public property of the Khojah community "or any voice in the management thereof."

Mr. Anstey was quite right when he said, "If the Khojahs are Sunis (we the relators and plaintiffs) succeed, if they are not Sunis, we fail"

(18) In fact there is no ground left upon the evidence, on which the relators and plaintiffs can seek relief from this Court either in its charitable, or any other jurisdiction.

Looking, for instance, at the Khojah community of Bombay in an educational point of view, no case for the interference of the Court has been made out.

No deed, writing, or scrap of paper of any kind was produced showing any gifts of property to the Khojah Jumat of Bombay with an ulterior destination to be applied in the establishment or maintenance of schools for the public use and benefit of the whole community.

As no proof was given of any such express trust created one, of course, could be given of any such express trust nolated.

But was there any proof of an implied trust of this kind—any proof of the existence in fact at any time of any school maintained out of the public monies of the community for the general education purpose of the community?

No proof of this kind was offered; there was, indeed and there still is, a school held in a building adjoining the Jumat Khana and open apparently to all children of the Khojah community, but the evidence is that this school was originally established, and has been throughout maintained, by the private munificence of Mr. Cassumbhoy Nuthoobhoy and three or four other wealthy Khojahs of the party of the relators and plaintiffs. Moreover, as to this school, it was clearly and positively stated by witness No. I that the relators and plaintiffs had no complaint whatever to make.

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(19) Then look at the Khojah community of Bombay as an eleemosynary institution and the result is the same. Here, again, there is no proof whatever of there ever having been any express gifts in trust for the poor of the community; but there is proof that the poor of the community have, in fact, long enjoyed a certain amount of maintenance and support at the public expense. They have been allowed free quarters on the ground-floor of the Jumat Khana and some other public buildings belonging to the Jumat; they frequently receive relief in the form of food and clothing: and they are buried in the Khojah burial ground at the public expense.

But the evidence is clear and decisive that whatever benefit in the way of alms and maintenance the poor of the Khojah community have ever enjoyed, they enjoy still in as ample a measure as at any former time; and there has been no kind of proof that these benefits have been in the slightest degree interfered with by any act of omission of the first defendant or his adherents.

(20) It remains, then, only to consider the prayer for an injunction. This again, is to a great extent, if not entirely, disposed of by the conclusions already drawn from the evidence in this case.

In so far, for instance, as it seeks to restrain the first defendant from interfering with the election of Mukhi and Kamaria, the evidence clearly shows that it is, and throughout has been, the custom in all the Khojah Jumats to consult the "Moorshed" or his agents before appointing either of these important functionaries. Considering the relations, now fully ascertained by the evidence, in which the herediary head of the Ismailis, the Sirkar Sahib, has always stood to the Khojah community, and considering that the Mukhi and Kamaria (as the evidence also shows) are the officers specially charged with collecting and administering the monies raised on the Sirkar Sahbi's account, I can see no ground whatever for an injunction in the circumstances—(and nothing more is proved) that these officers are not, as a rule, appointed without consulting, either

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the Moorshed, or, in his absence his lawfully constituted agents.

As to that part of the prayer for an injunction which asks the Court to intervene between the Khojahs who on the one side are ready to make and the Aga, who on the other side is willing to receive, voluntary offerings and customary contributions, it will not bear, and does not require any serious discussion.

As we have already seen, the great body of the Khojahs, unless they thought they were making payments to and for the benefit primarily of their Sirkar Sahib, would not contribute a single pie towards the public expenses of the community. To interfere therefore in the way desired would be simply, even if such an interference could be carried out, to reduce the Khojah community as a public community, to insolvency. But virtually it could not be carried out, and this Court has too much respect for itself to issue an order of this kind, which would be a mere brutum fulmen, liable to almost infinite modes of evasion, and only enforceable, if at all, by issuing attachments against more than two-thirds of the whole Khojah community of Bombay.

If Government, indeed, should be of opinion, that the receipt of some £10,000 a year by Aga Khan, while continuing to reside in Bombay, from the Khojah communities dispersed through India and the East, is, as suggested by the learned leading counsel for the relators and plaintiffs, on political grounds objectionable, they have the remedy in their own hands. But till they have applied such remedy (and I venture to think it extremely doubtful if they ever will either by removing Aga Khan from Bombay, or prohibiting such payments being made to him while he remains here, I can see no ground on which the making of such payments on the one side, or demanding them on the other, can be made the subject of an injunction by this court.

The only point remaining relates to the subject of outcasting or ex-communication. Now, the evidence shows that this extreme and ultimate mode of punishing a violation of the conditions of caste membership, although doubtless never in fact resorted to except with the concurrence and by the direction of the

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Spiritual Head or Moorshed of the Khojahs, is, in form, the act of the whole Khojah community in Jumat assembled, Allarukia Soomar (witness No. 18) the Mukhi of the Bombay Jumat, was much pressed in cross-examination as to the point, whether, if the Jumat considered a direction by the Aga to turn any Khojah out of caste unjust or ungrounded, they would refuse to comply with such direction. The witness had considerable difficulty in contemplating the possibility of such a case (as much difficulty as a strong Ultramontane Romanist might have in conceiving that the Pope could possibly go wrong in any matter relating to the government of the Church) but when at length he had been brought to entertain the hypothesis, his answer was that, in such case, the Jumat would first protest, and if that proved vain, would finally refuse to comply with a direction to outcaste, which they felt to be unjust.

No doubt in several passages of his answer the first defendant pitches his claims pretty high. Spiritual heads of communities are not generally remarkable for the modesty with which they state their pretensions. But in the 30th paragraph of his Answer he sets forth his claim in accordance with the mode in which excommunication appears upon the evidence to have been uniformly carried out in the Khojah community. In that paragraph after stating that "he claims to be and is the Spiritual Head of the Khojahs," he goes on to say "that all Khojahs resisting my doctrines" (i.e. the doctrines of the Shia Imamee Ismaili faith) are liable to be expelled "at my request by the Jumat from the Khojah caste."

It is quite clear that in every community having to a certain extent a religious character—and such the evidence shows to be the case with the Khojah community—there must be vested an ultimate power, in cases of obstinate refusal to comply with the defined conditions of communion, to deprive recusants of the privileges of communion in other words to excommunicate them; nor do I see how such a power can be more properly exercised than by the act of the whole community on the suggestion and by the direction of its Spiritual Head. That Aga Khan as the Spiritual Head of the Khojahs has, in my judgment, been

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clearly made out by the evidence, and to say, that as such, he is not to have a potential voice in determining who, on religious grounds shall or shall not remain members of the Khojah community, appears to me entirely unreasonable.

In fact in every community, whether of a religious nature or not—whether Church, or Chapel, Caste or Club—there must, as requisite for the preservation of a community, and as inherent in the very conception of a community, necessarily exist a power, not indeed to be exerted except in extreme cases and on justifying grounds, of depriving of the privileges of membership, those who persistently refuse after due notice and warning, to comply with those ascertained conditions of membership, to which, by the very fact of being members of the community, they must be held to have given an implied, if not an express, consent.

As it does not appear to me on the evidence, that any other or greater stretch of power than this has ever been exerted by the Khojah community under the direction of its Spiritual Head, I must decline to grant the injunction on this ground, nor is there any ground whatever on which the injunction, as prayed, ought in my judgment to be allowed.

(21) Upon the whole case therefore the decree which the Court must pronounce is quite clear. It is:—

That this suit be dismissed, as against the first defendant His Highness Aga Khan, as against Allarukia Soomar and his co-answering defendants, as against Asso Gangjee, with costs as to all the said defendants, to be paid by the relators and the plaintiffs.

As against the other defendants on the records, not in the same interest as the defendants above named, the decree is that the suit be dismissed, but without costs.

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THE ISMAILI IMAMS

THEIR GENEOLOGY

MAHOMED (The Prophet)

Ali (Prophet's Cousin and First Imam) *m.* Fatima
(Prophet's daughter)

2 Husein

3 Zainul Abedin

4 Mahomed Baqir

5 Jafar Sadiq

The Shi'iates of the "twelver" sect separated from the parent body from the time of Jafar Sadiq, owing their allegiance after him to his second son, Musa Kazim. The following is the geneological tree of the two branches of the Fatimid family.

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5 Jafar Sadiq

6 Ismail	Musa Kazim
7 Mohamed	Ali Raza
8 Vafi Ahmed	Mohamed Taqui
9 Taki Mohamed	Ali Naqui
10 Razi Abdulla	Hasan Askari
11 Mohamed Mehdi (He established the Fatimid rule in Ifrikiya)	Mohamed Mehdi (who is said to have gone into concealment)

12 Kayem

13 Mansur

14 Moizz (The Conqueror of Egypt)

15 Aziz

16 Hakim

In his time the Druse sect came into being. The Druses believe that Hakim is in concealment and will reappear on earth.

17 Zahir

18 Mustansir Billah I

In the time of Imam Mustansir Billah I, there was another split in the Fatimid family, dividing the Ismailis into two sects, the Nizaris and the Musteallians. While the

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Eastern Ismailis residing in Syria, Badakshan, Hamza and other places and the Momins and Khojas in India are the followers of the Nizari Imams, the Western Ismailis now residing in Yemen and other neighbouring places and the Bohras in India are the followers of the Musteallian line which has been represented by *dais* for several centuries. The following are the geneological details of the family.

18 Imam Mustansir Billah I

19 Nizar	Mustealli
20 Hadi	Amir
21 Mohtadi	Tyeb (the last Imam of the Bohras who is said to be in concealment)
22 Kahir	

23 Hassan Ala Zikhria-Salaam

24 Ala Mohammed

25 (Khud) Jalal-ud-Din Hasan

26 Ala-ud-Din Mohammad

27 Ruknuddin Khur Shah

He was the last ruler of Almut. Before he went to the Mongol camp, he had sent away his son, Shumsuddin Mohammad, with his uncle to Persia, to continue the work of *Imamat* after him.

28 Shums-ud-Din Mohammad

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28 Shums-ud-Din Mohammad

This Imam lived in seclusion as a 'Zardoz' and from his time upto the time of Abu-Zar-Ali, the Ismailis had to observe strict *taqia* on account of the strong orthodox opposition to their faith.

29 Kassam Shah

30 Islam Shah

31 Mohammad bin Islam Shah

32 Mustansir Billah II

33 Abdus-Salaam Shah

34 Garib Mirza

35 Abu-zar-Ali

36 Murad Mirza

37 Zulfiqar Ali

38 Nur Din Ali

39 Khalil-ullah Ali

40 Nizar II

41 Sayyid Ali

42 Hassan Ali

43 Kassam Ali

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43 Kassam Ali

44 Abul Hassan Ali

45 Khalil-ullah Ali II

46 Hasan Ali Shah, Aga Khan I

47 Aga Ali Shah, Aga Khan II

48 Rt. Hon'ble H. H. Sir Sultan Mahomed Shah, Aga Khan III

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